

MEMOIRS
OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

VOLUME XXV



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1957



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SYMMACHI, HOMO FELIX

BY

JAMES HENRY OLIVER



PLATE I. - Mosaic no. 3600 in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid.



PLATE II. - Mosaic no. 3601 in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid.

SYMMACHI, HOMO FELIX

Two mosaics portraying gladiatorial combats were found together in the seventeenth century in a property called the "Orto del Carciofolo" on the Via Appia outside of Rome. Today these mosaics, illustrated in the plate, are nos. 3600 and 3601 in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional (hereafter MAN) in Madrid.¹ Professor Marion Blake discussed them in these *Memoirs* XVII (1940) 112-113 from drawings since she herself had never seen the originals and did not have any photographs. According to her note 213, she found most details in the drawings published by Winckelmann in *Monumenti antichi inediti* I plates 197 and 198.

Of the pair it is MAN 3601 = Winckelmann 198 in which we are primarily interested for its inscription. We may begin with Winckelmann himself who says of the scene: "è figurato un combattimento di soli gladiatori anch'essi col lor lanista allato, con la visiera dell'elmo calata, che loro cuopre il viso, così com'Eteocle e Polinice combattendo insieme ci son descritti da Stazio". It is notable that he identifies the two non-combatants as *lanistae*, but Winckelmann does not reveal how he interpreted the inscription, except that he misread each *theta* as a *phi*.

It was Marini who identified this sign as the *theta nigrum*. He went on to describe it as: "l'indizio che gl'infelici Gladiatori *Calendione* e *Materno* eran

1. Bibliography of the pair of mosaics: - Johannes Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti* (Rome, 1767) I plates 197 and 198, and II 258-259; Gaetano Marini, *Gli atti e monumenti de' Fratelli Arvali etc.* I (Rome, 1795) 165; A. L. MILLIN, *Description des tombeaux qui ont été découverts à Pompei dans l'année 1812* (Naples 1813) 31-32 and 35-37; Johann Caspar Orelli, *Inscriptionum latinarum selectarum amplissima collectio etc.* (Zurich 1828) no. 2555; A. CHABOUILLET, "Observations sur une statuette représentant un rétiaire ainsi que sur divers monuments relatifs à cette classe de gladiateurs", *Revue archéologique* VIII (1851-2) pp. 407-410; Charles Loricquet, *La mosaïque des promenades et autres trouvées à Reims: étude sur les mosaïques et sur les jeux de l'amphithéâtre* (Reims, 1862) 214 and 217; Emil Hübner, *Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid* (Berlin, 1862) 196-197 nos. 399 and 400; E. Bormann, W. Heinzen and Chr. Huelsen, *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* VI. 2 (Berlin 1882) no. 10205; Thomas Ashby, "Drawings of Ancient Paintings in English Collections: Part I, the Eton Drawings", *Papers of the British School at Rome* VII (1914) 17; Marion Elizabeth Blake, "Mosaics of the Late Empire in Rome and Vicinity", *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* XVII (1940) 112-113; Louis Robert, "Monuments de gladiateurs dans l'orient grec", *Hellenica*, III (1946) 123-136 and V (1948) 84-86; Antonio Blanco Freijeiro, "Mosaicos romanos con escenas de circo y anfiteatro en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional", *Archivo español de arqueología* XXIII (1950) 127-142 (with an accurate description of the colors and technique) and figures 8-9, the first photographs (here reproduced); Jean Colin, "Juvenal, les baladins et les rétiaires d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford (Juv., *Sat.*, VI, 365, 1-26)", *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* LXXXVII (1952-3) 365 (without mention of Blanco's basic publication).

Note that in the quotations from Marini and from Millin on p. 10 the punctuation and spelling has been somewhat modernized.

morti; rimasti in vita e vincitori *Astianatte ed Abile*". For him, accordingly, the two gladiators of MAN 3601 were Maternus and Habilis.

Millin made the first attempt to interpret the inscriptions. Criticizing Winckelmann, he wrote:

Non seulement Winckelmann n'avoit point distingué cette sigle, à laquelle le savant Abbé Marini a le premier fait attention, en reproduisant ces mosaïques dans ces *Atti de i fratelli Arvali* p. 165 mais on n'a point encore expliqué les singulières inscriptions qui les accompagnent et Winckelmann n'en dit pas un mot. L'une d'elles n'offre aucune difficulté, . . . Les inscriptions de l'autre mosaïque n. 198 sont bien plus longues. Elle est aussi partagée en deux scènes, dans la première on lit au dessus des deux combattans MATERNVS HABILIS: comme ces mots sont intervertis dans la seconde scène, il est évident qu'ils désignent les deux gladiateurs; mais que veulent dire ceux-ci, écrits au dessus dans la première scène, QUIBUS PUGNANTIBUS SIMMACHIUS FERRUM MISIT: il est probable que ce Symmachius étoit le chef de la troupe, et qu'il *envoya le fer*, c'est à dire l'épée, dont l'un des deux gladiateurs devoit frapper l'autre, dans ces combats à outrance, et ce sont ces épées courtes, à la romaine, que ces gladiateurs tiennent à la main. Dans la seconde scène on voit Maternus, renversé sur le ventre au milieu de l'arène par Habilis, et probablement le Lanista Symmachius qui tient sa baguette à la main, et qui semble fuir pour éviter ce spectacle sanglant. Il y a au dessus NE CO HAEC VIDEMVS, je remplie les deux premiers mots par NE *Coram*, et alors cela veut dire *ne voyons pas cela de près*. On lit dans le coin cette acclamation SIMMACHI HOMO FELIX *Symmachius homme heureux*. Cette formule annonce que ce monument a été fait dans un bas tems, l'artiste a probablement voulu joindre au nom de Symmachius une de ces acclamations de bonne augure, dont les monuments nous offrent un grand nombre d'exemples.

In this interpretation of the letters NE CO HAEC VIDEMVS Millin assumes one serious error, VIDEMVS for VIDEAMVS, and a very unlikely abbreviation, CO(RAM). The reader will note also that the gladiators are thought to be named Maternus and Habilis, that Symmachius, the recipient of an acclamation, is identified as a *lanista*, and that the difficulty of interpreting the phrase *ferrum misit* is not avoided. This is a serious attempt at exegesis, but apart from Orelli and Chabouillet, later students of the mosaic do not seem to have consulted Millin at all. In reference to the *theta nigrum* which signifies death Orelli, II p. 297, cited Persius IV 13: *Et potis es nigrum vitio praefigere theta*.

Hübner describes the scenes as follows:

Gladiatorenkämpfe in zwei Reihen übereinander.

Oben kämpfen zwei mit Schildern und kurzen Schwertern gleichmässig bewaffnete. L. steht ein Herold oder Aufseher mit dem Stab. Unter dem Schild des ersten siegenden Kämpfers l. steht HABILIS, unter dem des besieigten r. MATERNVS Θ. Ueber dem Ganzen steht die Inschrift:

SYMMACHI
NECO HAEC VIDEMVS HOMO FELIX ♂

Unten steht wiederum l. ein Herold, aber ohne Stab. Der besiegte steht hier l. mit der Unterschrift MATERNVS Ø; über dem Sieger r. steht HABILIS. Unter dem Ganzen steht die Inschrift;

M
QVIBVS PVGNANTIBVS SYMMACHIVS FERRV MISIT

Die Ausführung nach guter Zeichnung, ist höchst sorgfältig, aus ganz kleinen Steinen. Die Inschrift oben ist wohl als Wechselrede zu fassen: *neco* sagt der Sieger, *haec videmus* das Publicum, und dasselbe akklamiert *Sim-machi, homo felix*. Die Inschrift unten ist eine erklärende Bemerkung des Künstlers.

In Hübner's description attention may be called to the treatment of the words HABILIS MATERNVS in the upper register and MATERNVS HABILIS in the lower register. Since he associates HABILIS in both cases with the figure which he identifies as the victorious gladiator, he presumably took HABILIS as the name of the victor and MATERNUS as that of the defeated. Also attention may be called to the identification of the non-combatants as heralds or overseers.

In the *Corpus* VI, 2, 10205, the inscription is not interpreted but two of the non-combatants are identified as *lanistae*:

b
SYMMACHI
NE CO HAEC VIDEMVS HOMO FELIX ♂
lanista
HABI LIS MATERNVS Ø
lanista alter
gladiator galeatus humi prostratus
M
QVI BVS PVG NANTIBVS SY MMA CHIVS FERRV
MA TERNVS Ø HA BILIS MISIT
lanista gladiatores duo galeati, gladiis et lanista
parmis armati, pugnantes

The text in the *Corpus* produced some ambiguity, since Ashby, in *Papers of the British School in Rome* VII (1914) 17, asserts that in the upper panel "the two lanistae bear the names of *Neco* and *Habilis*". Of the lower scene he says, "The gladiator on the left bears the name *Maternus* (again with the Ø) and he on the right *Habilis*. See Winckelmann, *Mon. Ined.* 198; *C.I.L.*, vi 10205 b.". In Ashby's understanding of the inscription, therefore, HABILIS in the lower panel becomes the name of the victorious gladiator, as Hübner had understood it, while in the upper panel HABILIS becomes a name too

but the name of a *lanista*, not of the gladiator as Hübner had apparently understood it. NECO, which Hübner had interpreted as a verb, an exclamation of the victorious gladiator, now becomes the name of a *lanista*. But Ashby did not know Hübner's publication which the editors of the *Corpus* had not mentioned.

Miss Blake consulted both the *Corpus* and Ashby for the inscription but did not know Hübner's publication. With her usual clarity she recognized the problem created by the interpretation of NECO as the name of a *lanista*, and with her usual honesty she was not content to gloss it over. She commented: "HAEC VIDEMVS in the center of the top seems quite superfluous". She

tried to explain the words QVIBVS PVGNANTIBVS SYMMACHIVS FERRV^M MISIT by translating: "and while these were fighting, Symmachius thrust (?) the sword". Of the rest of the inscription in the lower panel she said: "MATERNVS Θ and HABILIS placed below seem to designate the contestants, but inasmuch as Habilis is the trainer in the upper part of the picture, the mosaicist apparently made a mistake in naming his characters". Thus she brought out the difficulties of Ashby's interpretation and tentatively proposed the theory of a mosaicist's error in an unconvincing attempt to make sense of Ashby's interpretation. It may be added that since she had never seen either the mosaic itself or a photograph of it, she was not restrained from identifying as an umpire the figure leaning over the fallen gladiator.

In *Hellenica* III (1946) 132-136, Louis Robert, though he referred to the gladiators as Maternus and Habilis, did not discuss the inscription but concentrated on the type of gladiator, which, he concluded, was not a *myrmillo* but a light-armed gladiator of still unidentified type. In *Hellenica* V (1948) 84-86, Robert gave parallels to identify as a referee the figure of the non-combatant with the staff, and he suggested that the staff was that of the *summa rudis*. An ex-gladiator, accordingly, served as referee.

In the *Archivo español de arqueología* XXIII (1950) 134-142, Blanco identified the non-combatants as *lanistae* and the two gladiators as possibly *myrmillones*, one of whom was the leaning figure in the upper panel. Blanco entitles his section on MAN no. 3601: "Habilis contra Maternus"; hence it is clear that he interprets HABILIS as the name of the victorious gladiator, and he embraces unreservedly the theory of a mosaicist's error: "Hay, pues, una confusión entre los nombres Habilis y Symmachius".

We shall now present our own interpretation.

The first word NECO must be taken with Hübner as a verb, because otherwise the phrase *Haec videmus* has no bearing. If it is a verb, it is a generalizing statement, because it has no definite object. It does not mean "I am in the act of killing *him*", much less "I intend to kill *him*". It means "When they fight with me, they die".

The phrase *Haec videmus* makes excellent sense as Hübner interpreted it, namely as the reply of the crowd to the successful gladiator. The crowd says *Haec videmus* and not *Hoc videmus*, because they understand the exclamation *Neco* as applying to more than one occasion.

The phrase *Symmachi homo felix* is not only an acclamation of the crowd (so Hübner) but an acclamation addressed to the victorious gladiator. There is one piece of evidence the significance of which escaped every student except Chabouillet, and since neither Hübner nor the editors of the *Corpus* nor Ashby nor Marion Blake nor Blanco knew of Chabouillet's comment, it has not been considered hitherto, but it contributes an argument which to me seems decisive. I refer to the leaf after the phrase *Symmachi homo felix*. If the reader will turn to Plate I for the other mosaic, MAN no. 3600, he will see that on the companion piece a leaf follows the name of Astyanax, the winning gladiator, and follows it immediately, breaking the phrase *Astyanax vicit*. Since the leaf after the name of Astyanax was obviously not there as punctuation, it should not be interpreted as punctuation after the phrase *Symmachi homo felix*. On both mosaics the leaf marks the winning gladiator.

The word HABILIS, which has always been interpreted as a name, either the name of the *lanista* or that of the winning gladiator, cannot be a name. In the lower panel it cannot be the name of the *lanista*; hence it cannot be the name of the *lanista* in the upper panel either, because there is no distinction in the use. But it cannot be the name of the winning gladiator, because, as we have just seen, the name of the winning gladiator is Symmachius. An error of the mosaicist is so desperate an explanation that we may exclude it as no explanation at all. Another explanation seems to me not only possible but imposed, namely that HABILIS is a modifying adjective. It is in both panels an adjective accompanying the name of the losing gladiator Maternus, whose name is followed, as Marini noted, by the Θ which means Θ(άνατος) or Θ(ανών), or *obiit*.² The adjective *habilis* expresses the skill of a good gladiator. Its opposite occurs in the minutes of the senatorial discussion of A. D. 177 concerning gladiators, in line 63 of the *Aes Italicense*: *Is quoque qui senior atque in(h)abilior operam suam denuo, etc.*, see the new text available in *Hesperia* XXIV (1955) 320-49. *Habilitas* then may be described as the technical proficiency of a good gladiator in his prime.

A striking contrast accordingly emerges between the chiasmatically related phrases, *Symmachi homo felix* and *habilis Maternus*. The juxtaposition and chiasmic balance are not fortuitous but indicate that the two phrases belong together. The phrase *habilis Maternus* is part of the acclamation which the crowd shouts to the winning gladiator. Just as the design in the upper panel represents the scene at the culminating moment, the inscription in the upper panel represents the cries and acclamation at the culminating moment. A reader interested in the importance attached to acclamations may consult Th. Klauser, *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* I coll. 216-33 under "Akklamation". Here I treat merely the, to a modern observer, obscure meaning of the invidious comparison contained in the acclamation for the winning gladiator.

The antithesis *habilitas-felicitas* may be explained by the meaning usually

² G. R. Watson, "Theta nigrum", *JRS* XLII (1952) 56-62.

given and specifically here given to the word *felicitas*. Erkell³ has shown how frequently the word *felicitas* is coupled with *virtus*, and he argues that *felicitas* is sometimes used alone to cover *virtus* and *felicitas*. Accordingly one might feel that *felicitas* practically becomes a moral quality, and that the antithesis *habilitas-felicitas* was that between skill and courage. Furthermore Erkell shows that *felicitas* is a quality which some Romans attributed to the gods, so that it might be represented as a divine endorsement of outstanding courage.

But Wagenvoort⁴ shows clearly that *felicitas* is often contrasted with *virtus*, so that our antithesis cannot lie between *habilitas* and *virtus*. To me, at least, it seems clear that Wagenvoort has the stronger proof when, on the basis of evidence, he explains *felicitas* as an effective innate power of success, originally a magical quality, and says that if some Romans attributed *felicitas* to the gods, they also attributed *virtus* and other qualities to the gods. Particularly important, however, is the *sententia* in Publilius Syrus C 36: *Contra felicem vix deus vires habet*. This expresses the original feeling much better than the comments of highly educated Romans, who had not shaken off verbal vestiges but had further outgrown the primitive thought of the ancient environment in which the idea of *felicitas* had developed. Though the philosophically educated tended to reinterpret the true Roman feeling about *felicitas*, the composer of our mosaic inscription, or rather the crowd in the Colosseum, retained more of the original feeling. *Contra felicem habilis gladiator nullas vires habet*.

In the *Aeneid* IX 771-773, Vergil says:

Inde ferarum
vastatorem Amycum, quo non felicior alter
ungere tela manu ferrumque armare venena.

The hunter Amycus was not *felicior* at smearing poison on his weapons; he was, as it were, *felicior* in combat, but his success in combat with beasts surpassed that of other good hunters because of his *peritia* in choosing the poison and smearing it over his weapons. Therefore Servius comments "*felicior* peritior: nam in ungendis telis non est felicitas, sed peritia". Vergil's poetic licence or richly suggestive use of the word *felicior* does not help us, but the distinction made by Servius between skill and *felicitas* is here cited as a parallel for the antithesis of our mosaic.

In conclusion, the two mosaics are a pair in subject as well as in size. On each mosaic there are two panels with the fight represented below and the victory above, in one case with four figures above and three below, in the other case with three figures above and four below. One represents the triumph of the heavy gladiator Astyanax over a *retiarius*, the other the triumph of the light gladiator Symmachius. The former presents a fight between gladiators of two

³ Harry Erkell, *Augustus, felicitas, fortuna: lateinische Wortstudien* (Göteborg 1952) 67.

⁴ H. Wagenvoort, "Felicitas imperatoria", *Mnemosyne* VII (1954) 300-322.

types. The latter, MAN 3601, presents a fight between gladiators of one still unidentified type known from a relief at Chieti and from mosaics at Reims, Kreuznach and Zliten, as Louis Robert shows; these carry no defensive armor except a small round or oval shield and a helmet with visor and two plumes, and wear a tunic tied up and cut to leave the knees and arms free. One non-combatant in each panel is represented with a staff; he obviously serves as referee. The other non-combatant seems to have no staff. I have no reason to identify either non-combatant as a *lanista*, and I doubt that anyone wanted a picture of a despised *lanista*. I can well believe that both non-combatants are ex-gladiators, even though one in each mosaic is represented without a staff. Perhaps a *summa rudis* carried his staff when he served in the arena as the (chief) referee. The other non-combatant may be a *secunda rudis* who serves without his staff as assistant referee.

In the upper panel of MAN 3601 the leaning gladiator seems to be reaching for something, perhaps his helmet. The fallen gladiator has a cloth or flag over his head, a flag which does not appear in the lower panel at all. It is probably the *mappa*, placed there by the referee.

The inscriptions concern the gladiators alone and there is no confusion of names or scribal error on MAN 3601. The latter presents a comparison. The comparison does not mean that Maternus was a great gladiator but Symmachius lucky. It means rather that Maternus was a gladiator of great technical proficiency but that Symmachius possessed an innate superhuman power which made him invincible. The words QVIBVS PVGNANTIBVS SYMMACHIVS FERRVM MISIT may be translated "In the fight between these two gladiators it was Symmachius who delivered the iron".⁵

The date cannot be stated confidently. Marion Blake, who entitled her article "Mosaics of the Late Empire in Rome and Vicinity", included the entire third century and the period of the Severi under the term "Late Empire". Blanco on epigraphical grounds described the two mosaics as post-Hadrianic or third-century, and on p. 141 he says that the most obvious indication of date is perhaps the coexistence of the traditional plasticity of the figures together with an almost radical disregard of the laws of perspective, so that he prefers to date them tentatively toward the middle of the third century.⁶ Mason Hammond, in a letter, has called my attention to an additional indication of date: "the development of action in both mosaics from bottom up is like that in the panels on the Arch of Septimius Severus at Rome (A. D. 204) where the fighting is represented below and the victory above".⁷

⁵ The phrase *ferrum misit* is the opposite of the phrase *ferrum receperunt* in Tertullian, *De spectaculis* 21, where it means "received the death blow".

⁶ In the upper panel Blanco calls attention to the two fallen shields, which look as if they were suspended from a wall. In the lower panel he calls attention to the shield of the man on the left: we should see, not the outside, but the inside of the shield and the arm which holds it.

⁷ The writer expresses appreciation to Professor Mason Hammond for this and other help, likewise to Don Augusto Fernández de Avilés.

IMPERIAL ELEMENTS IN THE FORMULA
OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS
DURING THE FIRST TWO
AND A HALF CENTURIES OF THE EMPIRE

BY

MASON HAMMOND

IMPERIAL ELEMENTS IN THE FORMULA OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS DURING THE FIRST TWO AND A HALF CENTURIES OF THE EMPIRE

The formula, style, or designation of a Roman emperor is the complex of personal names, imperial titles, honorific epithets, ancestors, and republican offices, powers, and honors which served to designate a given emperor.¹ Naturally this formula may appear less or more extensively, from the simplest legends on coins, such as *Augustus* or *Hadrianus Augustus*, to the elaborate and resounding designation of Caracalla in a military diploma of 216: *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) diui Septimi Seueri Pii Arab(ici) Adiab(enici) Parth(ici) Max(im)i Brit(annici) Max(im)i f(ilius) diui M(arci) Antonini Pii Germ(anici) Sarm(atici) nep(os) diui Antonini Pii pronep(os) diui Hadriani abnep(os) diui Traiani Parthici et diui Neruae adnep(os) M(arcus) Aurellius Antoninus Pius Felix Aug(ustus) Parth(icus) Max(imus) Brit(annicus) Max(imus) Germ(anicus) Max(imus) pontif(ex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) XVIII imp(erator) III co(n)s(ul) IIII (pater) p(atriciae) proc(onsul)*.² At first sight this last lengthy formula seems a far cry from the style of Augustus as, for instance, it appeared in the last year of his

¹ This paper is a prelude to a study of the Antonine Monarchy. As indicated in the text, it is limited to the imperial element in the formula, since the republican offices relate more closely to the powers and responsibilities of the emperor and must be included within the study thereof. Dates in the current era appear without A. D. Works frequently cited are given, after their first appearance, with abbreviated titles but may be found in full in the bibliography at the end. In abbreviated titles, commas are omitted between author and title.

The indices to the Catalogue of *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* (hereafter *BMC*) show the wide variety of the imperial formula in coin legends. For *Augustus*, see *BMC* I 431; for *Hadrianus Augustus*, III 616. For the coin legends of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus, see also P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*. A good selection of imperial formulas on inscriptions is given in the third index of H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (hereafter *Dess.*) III 1 pp. 257-317. Dessau classifies the elements of the formula under three headings: *nomina*, *honores*, and *maiores*. H. Mattingly, in the prefaces to the volumes of *BMC* (I lxvii-lxx, II xix-xxi, III xxiv-xxvii, IV xxii-xxv, V xxxii-xxxv) discusses each element of the formula separately. So also do H. Nesselhauf in his edition of the military diplomas in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (hereafter *CIL*) XVI pp. 153-154 and W. Liebenam in his *Fasti Consulares Imperii Romani* (hereafter *Liebenam Fasti*) index IV on pp. 101-103. A. Degraffi in his more recent and complete *I Fasti Consolari dell'Impero Romano etc.* (hereafter *Degraffi Fasti*) does not discuss the imperial formula. The present paper divides the imperial elements into classes, namely: personal names and imperial titles (treated together), epithets, and ancestors, since such a classification gives more insight into the development and significance of the formula.

² The formula of Caracalla is from *CIL* XVI 137, a diploma issued to discharged praetorians on Jan. 7, 216. The only restorations are *Imp. C.]* in the first line and *Par.]* in the second. These are missing because the first tablet (the only one to survive) has lost one corner which had the opening on both outside and inside. In the text above, following Nesselhauf, abbreviations are expanded in parentheses. For the spelling *Aurellius*, see below n. 100.

life: *Imp(erator) Caesar diui f(ilius) Augustus pontifex maxim(us) co(n)s(ul) XIII imp(erator) XX tribunic(ia) potest(ate) XXXVII p(ater) p(atriciae)*.³ Yet a brief consideration will show the essential continuity from Augustus to Caracalla.

Within the formula there are two major parts, an "imperial" and a "republican". The republican part comprises three republican magistracies or offices, those of *pontifex maximus*, *consul*, and occasionally through Domitian, *censor*; two powers, the *tribunicia potestas* and, in the second century, the proconsular *imperium* indicated by *proconsul*; and two honorific titles, one military, *imperator* followed by a number to show how many times the emperor had been acclaimed by his victorious soldiers, and one civil, *pater patriae*, to suggest that his relation to his people was that of a loving father to his devoted children. Augustus had received these various republican offices, powers, and titles to indicate that he was no king, dictator, or tyrant but a first citizen to whom had been given specific and limited powers and functions. But even in his lifetime the principate was widely regarded as a monarchy; the congeries of powers as one overriding control. During the succeeding two centuries, the republican part of the formula continued unchanged except for the appearance of *proconsul* under Trajan. It represented an outward respect for Augustus and the compromise which he had so successfully achieved between the need for central control and the great tradition of the Roman republic. But since the powers and functions which the republican part represented came to be absorbed into a generalized imperial power, a discussion of them belongs to the consideration of the constitutional position of the emperor. The present paper will therefore deal only with the imperial part and will show how, from a primarily personal designation, with monarchical overtones, there developed a true imperial "style".

Within the imperial part can be distinguished four elements. The personal designation of Augustus became first a hereditary series of names and then a real title for the emperor, in the form *Imperator Caesar . . . Augustus*. Into this title, succeeding emperors intruded personal *praenomina* like *Titus* or *Marcus*, gentile *nomina* like *Claudius* or *Aurelius*, and family *agnomina* like *Traianus* or *Antoninus* or *Seuerus*, in order to distinguish themselves from their predecessors. Some of the *nomina* and *agnomina* became in their turn hereditary. Naturally the nicknames by which certain emperors are today familiarly known, for example "Caligula" or "Caracalla", had no official recognition in the formula. Thirdly, individual emperors received honorary epithets, such as *Optimus*,

³ Augustus' formula is from *CIL* XI 367 = Dess. 113, the inscription of a bridge at Ariminum begun by Augustus and completed by Tiberius, whose formula runs: *Ti. Caesar diui Augusti f. diui Iuli n. August. pontif. maxim. cos. IIII imp. VIII trib. potest. XXII dedere*. Augustus' formula is of 14, except that before his death he became *imp. XXI*; the XX of the inscription may well be an error since Tiberius' formula is of 21, and presumably the whole inscription was cut in that year. For the Augustan formula, see M. Hammond, *The Augustan Principate* (hereafter Hammond *AP*) 110-113. The stimulating study by J. Béranger, *Recherches sur l'aspect idéologique du Principat*, does not discuss the formula as such, although in ch. II, "La Terminologie", appear such terms as *Princeps*, *Imperator*, or *Auctoritas*, and such powers as *Imperium* and *Tribunicia Potestas*.

Pius, or *Felix* or those signifying victory like *Parthicus*. Some of these became, as had *Augustus*, attached to the imperial titles. Finally, during the second century the lengthening list of ancestors emphasized the hereditary nature of the imperial position. In the following discussion, the imperial titles and personal names will be treated together as the closely associated designation of the individual emperor. The epithets and ancestors will be discussed in separate sections.

(1) PERSONAL NAMES AND IMPERIAL TITLES.

In the course of his rise to the principate, Augustus had shed all of his "proper names" except his adoptive *cognomen* of *Caesar*. This he promoted to be his gentile *nomen*, as if to show that Julius Caesar had founded a new *gens* or clan, rendered by his own eminence independent of the traditional *gens* of the *Iulii*, of which the *Caesares* had until him been a branch. To *Caesar* Augustus added two titles: *Imperator*, which he made into a personal *praenomen*, and *Augustus*, which he received in 27 B.C. as an honorific epithet in a fashion common under the republic, but which he used almost as if it were a family *cognomen*. Thus when he indicated his descent from the deified Julius, he placed *diui filius* between *Caesar* and *Augustus*, just as under the republic, filiation came between *nomen* and *cognomen*, for instance in *Marcus Tullius M. f. Cicero*. Initially, however, Augustus may have conceived that he had two names and a title and placed his filiation before the title, in the manner, for instance, of *Gn. Pompeius Gn. f. Magnus*.⁴

⁴ For the imperial elements in Augustus' formula, see Pauly/Wissowa/usw., *Real-Encyclopädie usw.* (hereafter *RE*) X (9) 275-276; E. de Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico etc.* (hereafter *DE*) I 917-919; *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (hereafter *PIR*) ed. 1 II 172 I no. 140; B. Doer, *Die römische Namengebung usw.* 75-90.

Augustus was originally named *Gaius Octavius*. By adoption in Caesar's will (44 B.C.), he became *Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus*. The gentile *Iulius* and the *agnomen* of *Octavianus* do not appear on coins and inscriptions; see Doer *Namengebung* 77-78. It should however be noted that the laws initiated by Augustus in virtue of his tribunician power were called *leges Iuliae*, that his daughter and granddaughter were named *Iulia*, that after his death Livia was called *Iulia Augusta*, and that the name *Iulius* occurs for Germanicus and his sons Nero and Drusus and for Drusus son of Tiberius, see Dess. III 1 pp. 260-264.

About 38 B.C., Augustus substituted *Imperator* for *Gaius* as a *praenomen*. Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* (hereafter *Mom.*) II 2 (ed. 3) 770, 794, thought that this indicated that Augustus held an *imperium proconsulare maius* for life. M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* 411-423, follows Mommsen but, on pp. 424-453, holds that after 27 B.C. Augustus began to keep in the background both the "revolutionary" *imperium* and the *praenomen* of *Imperator* and to substitute for them his *auctoritas* and the *cognomen* (or *agnomen*) of *Augustus* and after 23 B.C. the indication of the annual tenure of the *tribunicia potestas*. The thesis of Mommsen that *Imperator* signified the *imperium* was denied by D. McFayden, *The History of the Title Imperator etc.*, followed by Hammond *AP* 33-34, 48-50. And Grant probably exaggerates the importance of *auctoritas* and the eclipse of the *imperium*, see H. Last, "*Imperium Maius*: A Note" in *Journal of Roman Studies* XXXVII (1947) 157-164 and Hammond's review of Grant in *American Journal of Philology* LXIX (1948) 321-323. So also A. von Premerstein, in *Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats* 245-260 (especially pp. 256-260), regards *Imperator* not as Mommsen's title signifying

Tiberius refused the *praenomen* of *Imperator* and its occurrence for him and his successors until Nero may be regarded as unofficial.⁵ Tiberius similarly desired that *Augustus* be reserved for the founder of the principate. However, since it appears regularly for him, it must be assumed that it changed from an honorary epithet of Augustus himself to an imperial name or title even before Augustus' death. Both Tiberius and Gaius used *Caesar* in virtue of inheritance, but Claudius, who had no right to it by blood or adoption, nevertheless added it to his own *praenomen* and *nomen*, to yield *Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus*.⁷

Though it might appear that thus *Caesar Augustus* became a combined title for the imperial position, the continued use of *Caesar* by the heirs of emperors shows that it was still considered to be a name, not a title.⁸ When Nero passed by adoption into the family of the *Claudii Nerones*, he, as had Drusus the Elder, reversed the order to *Nero Claudius* and as emperor he tended to omit the *Claudius*.⁹ In the year 66, probably in connection with the sub-

the *imperium* but as a name, inherited from Caesar and even under Augustus having a monarchical significance. Indeed, Grant, *From Imperium etc.* 22-23, 408-410, shows how the sons of Pompey likewise used both *Imperator* and *Magnus* as inherited elements of their names, compare also *RE* IX (17) 1144-1154 (especially 1149); *DE* IV 1 43-45. However, Béranger, *Recherches etc.* 50-54, returns to Mommsen's view, by connecting *Imperator* both with the *imperium* and with the triumph earned in virtue of the *imperium*; he says that consequence it acquired an absolutist connotation expressed clearly by the Greek equivalent *αὐτοκράτωρ*. In this paper, *Imperator* as a title or *praenomen* will be capitalized but as a republican honor will begin with a lower case *i*. Sometimes, as for Galba, it remains uncertain whether *Imperator* was used as an imperial title or a republican honor.

Augustus was originally an honorific title bestowed by the senate on Augustus in 27 B.C. and having overtones both of *auctoritas* and of divinity, see Hammond *AP* 110-111; A. Magdelain, *Auctoritas Principis* 47. For a republican with only two names placing his filiation between the second and his honorific title, see *Cn. Pompeius Cn. f. Magnus* in the index to Dess. III 1 p. 116 and note especially inscriptions nos. 876 and 877 (the second restored).

⁵ For the formula of Tiberius, see *RE* X (19) 478; *PIR*² II 219 *C* no. 941; Dess. III 1 p. 262; *BMC* I 120 ff.; Hammond *AP* 50-51, 226 nn. 16-18.

⁶ For the changed significance of *Augustus*, see Hammond *AP* 112, 268 n. 22; below pp. 23, 40-41.

⁷ For the formula of Gaius, see *RE* X (9) 385; *DE* II 1 35-36; *PIR* II 175 *I* no. 143; Dess. III 1 p. 264; *BMC* I 146 ff.

For the formula of Claudius, see *RE* III (6) 2787; *DE* II 1 295-296; *PIR*² II 225 *C* no. 942; Dess. III 1 p. 265; *CIL* XVI 1; *BMC* I 164 ff. Claudius may have assumed *Caesar* simply because of its potent associations, or he may have pretended a descent by adoption and retained the family name of *Claudius* to distinguish himself from Tiberius.

⁸ Britannicus inherited *Caesar* from Claudius just as much as did Nero, see Mom. II 2 770 n. 4; *PIR*² II 186 *C* no. 820.

⁹ For Nero's formula, see *RE* suppl. III 352-353; (*DE* has not yet reached *N*); *PIR*² II 34 *D* no. 129; Dess. III 1 pp. 267-268; *CIL* XVI 4; *BMC* I 200 ff. Drusus the Elder, brother of Tiberius, appears both as *Nero Claudius Drusus* and as *Claudius Nero* (*Drusus*), see *PIR*² II 195 *C* no. 857; Dess. III 1 p. 261; such inversions were not uncommon, for instance *Caesar Augustus* or *Augustus Caesar*. But Drusus does not show his original *praenomen* of *Decimus*, which is attested only by Suet. *Claud.* 1 1. Nor, for that matter, does *Caesar*, assigned to him by Suetonius, appear in his inscriptions. Nero son of Germanicus placed *Nero* before *Caesar*: *Nero (Iulius) Caesar*, see *PIR* II 181 *I* no. 149; Dess. III 1 p. 263. The emperor Nero did not use *Claudius* on his gold and silver except in 54/55, see *BMC* I 200-201 nos. 1-8. It is occasionally omitted on his bronze, see H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (hereafter MS) I 140-142, which is clearer than *BMC* I clxiii, clxvi, clxviii-clxx.

mission of Tiridates, king of Parthia, he officially revived the *praenomen imperatoris* so that the final form of his name and title was *Imperator Nero Caesar Augustus*.¹⁰ Thus, by the end of the Julio-Claudian period it had become customary for an emperor to surround his own name or names with three imperial titles: *Imperator*, in origin an honor but made into a *praenomen*; *Caesar*, which still retained its character as a name, but a name assumed in virtue of becoming emperor, without any necessary inheritance; and *Augustus*, an epithet which had come to designate the ruler.¹¹

In the course of this change, *Augustus* probably lost much of the religious significance which it had had originally and, in particular, its connotation of *auctoritas*. Augustus had outwardly limited himself to certain specific powers, but he continued to dominate the whole imperial administration in virtue, according to his own statement, of his pervasive *auctoritas*, that quality in himself which commanded the respect and obedience of others even when he had no legal right thereto.¹² With the development of the concept of a general *imperium*, that is, of the legally recognized control by the emperor of the whole government, the vague *auctoritas* no longer needed to be emphasized.¹³ Yet *Augustus* alone never became a regular term for the rulers. Pliny in his *Panegyric* addressed Trajan as *Caesar Auguste* or simply as *Caesar*; the speaker on gladiatorial expenses in 176/8 appealed to Marcus and Commodus as *magni imperatores*.¹⁴

¹⁰ For Nero's revival of the *praenomen* of *Imperator*, see Suet. *Nero* 13 2; Hammond *AP* 51, 226 n. 19; *BMC* I clxvi, clxvii (especially n. 3). Dessau, III 1 p. 268, gives only a few instances of the occurrence of *Imp.* on Nero's inscriptions and *Claudius* appears on them frequently even after 66. Presumably those who erected the inscriptions were not always fully cognizant of recent changes in the official formula.

¹¹ A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* 253, points out that in the Gallic revolt of 68, Julius Sabinus claimed descent from Julius Caesar, see Tac. *Hist.* IV 55 2 and, in § 67 1: *Caesarem se salutare iubet*; compare also Dio LXVI (LXV) 3 1; *PIR* II 211 *I* no. 351. Sherwin-White thinks that Sabinus had in mind throughout the family connotation while Tacitus in the second passage regarded *Caesar* as an imperial title. Probably Sabinus, like the Julio-Claudians, did not distinguish clearly between the two concepts.

¹² For *auctoritas*, see Hammond *AP* 266 n. 7; von Premerstein *Vom Wesen* 176-225; Grant *From Imperium* 443-453; Magdelain *Auctoritas Principis* throughout; Béranger *Recherches etc.* 114-131. The critical passage is Aug. *Res Gestae* 34 3 as found in the fragments from Antioch in Pisidia.

¹³ Significant of the early loss of the personal and religious significance of the title *Augustus* is its bestowal, in the feminine form *Augusta*, upon wives of emperors. This began with Livia, who received the title (and the name *Iulia*) by Augustus' will, see Tac. *Ann.* 1 8 2. The empress might well be regarded as an "august" personage. Moreover Livia and later empresses sought to intervene directly in the government; see, for Agrippina the Younger, C.H.V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy* 146-155. But such *auctoritas* as they exercised had no recognized constitutional basis, contrary to the arguments advanced by E. Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat und Reichstellung im Imperium Romanum* (hereafter *DP*), see especially for Livia pp. 35-42 and for Agrippina the Younger pp. 57-59 and for the Julias of the Severan dynasty pp. 93-95; compare also H. G. Mullens, "The Women of the Caesars" in *Greece and Rome* XI (1942) 59-67. The title *Augusta* should therefore be regarded as purely honorary for the wife and later for other women related to the *Augustus*.

¹⁴ For Trajan, see Pliny *Pan.* 4 3, 5 2, 9 3, 14 1, etc. For Marcus and Commodus in the speech on gladiatorial expenses of 176/178, see C. G. Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui* ed. 7

Galba used *Imperator* sometimes before and sometimes after his name, in the latter case without numeral, so that it is hard to know whether it represents the first salutation or whether the variation is simply one of the order of *nomen* and *cognomen*.¹⁵ His bronze as initially coined in Gaul and Rome, presumably under senatorial direction, places *imperator* after his name and omits *Augustus*.¹⁶ His gold and silver throughout and his bronze issued after his arrival at Rome in October place *Imperator* before. Yet three copies of a discharge issued by Galba for the veterans of *legio I Adiutrix* on December 22, 68, have the order *Ser. Galba Imperator Caesar Augustus*.¹⁷ Perhaps at first, as a "republican" gesture, he assumed *imperator* as an honor, without numeral, to indicate his salutation by the troops but not as establishing any claim to to the empire or to the title *Augustus*.¹⁸ Upon his recognition by the senate, he took the imperial titles *Imperator Caesar Augustus* but, in view of Nero's recent use of *Imperator* as a regular title, uncertainty existed whether it should precede or follow *Galba*, particularly since, unlike his predecessor, he kept his own *praenomen*.¹⁹

Of the formula of Piso after his adoption by Galba nothing is known save that he probably assumed *Caesar* and perhaps also *Galba* as part of his name.²⁰

Otho shows two forms, with or without his personal *praenomen*: *Imp.*

(hereafter Bruns) 207 no. 63 = S. Riccobono and others, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani* ed. 2 (hereafter *FIRA*) I 294 no. 49 = Dess. 5163 = J. H. Oliver and R.E.A. Palmer, "Minutes of an Act of the Roman Senate" in *Hesperia* XXIV (1955) 320-349, line 12. In the *acclamations* recorded by the "Scriptores Historiae Augustae" (hereafter SHA) and probably all to be rejected as inventions, Marcus is addressed as *Antonine*, *Auid.* 13 2; Pertinax as *Auguste* or *Caesar*, *Com.* 18 10, 19 1; Alexander as *Auguste innocens*, *Antonine Alexander*, *Antonine Auguste*, or the like, *Alex.* 6 2, 7 1, 8 3, 10 6-12 1. *Auguste* is used by Martial to address Domitian, but far less frequently than *Caesar*, see L. Friedländer's index to his edition of Martial II 371.

¹⁵ For Galba's formula, see *RE* IV (7) 774-775, 782; *DE* III 372-373; *PIR* III 284 *S* no. 723; Dess. III 1 p. 268; *CIL* XVI 7-9; *BMC* in next note.

¹⁶ For Galba's use of *Imperator* on his coinage, see *BMC* I cciii. *Augustus* is omitted not only on his bronze (*aes*) but also on his early gold and silver, pp. lxxviii, ccx, 337-351.

¹⁷ Galba's diplomas of 68 are *CIL* XVI 7, 8, 9, showing *Aug.*, *August.*, or *Augustus*.

¹⁸ For Galba's republicanism, see M. Hammond, "The Transmission of the Imperial Powers etc." in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* XXIV (1956) 67-68.

¹⁹ MacFayden, *Hist. Title Imp.* 63 n. 91, suggests that the order *Imp. Caes. Aug.* was the order in which the titles were voted to Galba. Suetonius, *Galba* 11, says that Galba assumed *Caesar* only upon receipt of news that the senate had accepted him; see also Dio LXIII 29 6, who adds that he did not at once use *Imperator*. Mommsen, II 2 769 n. 5, compares with the variation *Galba Imp.* or *Imp. Galba* the similar variation *Nero Imp.* or *Imp. Nero*. Galba's name before his accession had become after his adoption by his step-mother *L. Liuius Sulpicius Galba*, see refs. above in n. 15. Upon his accession he dropped the first three and resumed his own original *praenomen* of *Seruius*. *Sulpicius* occurs occasionally on coins, see *BMC* I 440, 451 (in index VI). As between coins and diplomas, there is little to choose as representing best the official usage.

²⁰ For the adoption of Piso, see Tac. *Hist.* I 29 2; W. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arualium* (hereafter *ATA*) xci line 26, which reads as of Jan. 10, 69: [*ob ad*]optione[m *Ser. Sulpici Gal*]ba C[*aesaris*]. This is too heavily restored to give sure evidence for Piso's assumption of the name of Galba. See also Mom. II 2 770 n. 4; *PIR*² II 72 *C* no. 300; Doer *Namengebung* 85-86.

(M.) *Otho Caesar Augustus*.²¹ The second may have been meant to recall Nero's final formula.²²

Vitellius reverted to Galba's "republican" style by placing *Imperator* after his name.²³ But he elevated an honorary epithet, *Germanicus*, to a position before *Imperator Augustus*.²⁴ This new title referred not to a victory over the Germans but to his election by the German legions and he seems to have wanted it to be for him what *Augustus* had been for the first emperor, a personal distinction.²⁵ *Augustus* appears on his coins even later than does *tr. p.* so that it may have been assumed only on his entry into Rome.²⁶ *Caesar* he refused until towards the end of his life.²⁷ By preferring *Germanicus* to these two titles he may have meant to make a definite break with the Julio-Claudian house, or he may have regarded *Imperator (Caesar) Augustus* as a formula indicative of the rule and therefore placed it after his name and personal distinction. Hence his final formula reads *A. Vitellius Germanicus Imperator (Caesar) Augustus*.

Vespasian patterned his formula, as he did his general program, on that of Augustus.²⁸ He received no personal distinction like *Augustus*, but he em-

²¹ For Otho's formula, see Mom. II 2 769 n. 5; *RE* I (2) 2037; (*DE* has not reached *O*); Dess. III 1 p. 269; *BMC* I ccxix-ccxx; McFayden *Hist. Title Imp.* 64. Tacitus, *Hist.* I 47 2, says that all the imperial honors were voted to Otho at one time.

²² Dio, LXIV 8 2 (1) = Xiphilinus, states that Otho assumed the name *Nero* but the coins and inscriptions do not show this; so also the literary sources say that Didius used the name *Commodus*, below n. 93, but are not supported by the coins or inscriptions.

²³ For Vitellius' formula, see Mom. II 2 769 n. 5; (*RE* and *DE* have not yet reached *Vi*); *PIR* III 449 *V* no. 499; Dess. III 1 p. 269; *BMC* I lxxvii. *CIL* X 8016 = Dess. 243, from Sardinia, shows [*Im*]p. A. Vitellius c[os. perp.]

²⁴ Of Vitellius, Suet. *Vit.* 8 2 says: *cognomen Germanici delatum ab uniuersis cupide recepit, Augusti distulit, Caesaris in perpetuum recusauit*; see Tac. *Hist.* II 90 2; G. M. Rushforth, *Latin Historical Inscriptions* 80 n. on no. 68.

²⁵ Early coins of Vitellius minted at Tarraco and Lyons show *Imp. Germanicus*, see *BMC* I lxxxv n. 1, ccxxiii; compare Tac. *Ann.* I 31 1 for movements among the German legions to put the command in the hands of Germanicus; Vitellius may have meant to recall the affection of the legions for Germanicus as well as to portray himself as their nominee. H. Mattingly, "Some Historical Roman Coins of the First Century A.D." in *Journal of Roman Studies* X (1920) 39-40, argues that Vitellius first used *Imperator Germanicus* to show that he was the "Emperor made in Germany" by the Roman legions there but when he was accepted at Rome he changed the order to *Germanicus Imperator* so that *Germanicus* became a personal epithet although the collocation of the two words still suggested how he rose to power.

Comparable to Vitellius' use of *Germanicus* not for victory over Germans but for connection with Germany is the use of *Parthicus* by Q. Labienus, the son of Caesar's lieutenant, on a coin minted by him as commander of Parthian forces operating against Antony, see M. Cary, *History of Rome*² 449, citing *BMC Republic* II 500 nos. 131-132 (pl. cxiii, 19-20); Dio xlviii 26 5; Strabo XIV 2 24. Claudius made a curiously similar confusion in his speech for the Aeduan chiefs when he said that an ancestor of Persius was called *Allobrogicus* because he was an Allobrogian, not because he defeated them, see Bruns 197 no. 52 = *FIRA* I 284 no. 43, col. II line 25.

²⁶ Suet. *Vit.* 8 2, quoted above n. 24; Tac. *Hist.* II 90 2; *MS* I 221; *BMC* I ccxxii.

²⁷ Tac. *Hist.* I 62 2, III 58 3, against Suet. *Vit.* 8 2, quoted above n. 24; compare W. A. Spooner, *Corneli Taciti Historiae* 164 n. on *Hist.* I 62 for eastern coins; J. Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen* I 41 for Alexandrian coins; Dess. III 1 p. 269, who gives no inscr. with *Caesar*.

²⁸ For Vespasian's "Augustanism," see *CAH* XI 5, 10, 11, 19; *BMC* II xxxiii-xxxiv (*Pax*), xxxviii-xxxix, xliii, xlix; McFayden *Hist. Title Imp.* 64-66; L. Homo, *Vespasien* 193-195.

ployed his *cognomen* alone, without *praenomen* or *nomen*.²⁹ He placed *Caesar* before *Vespasianus* so that at first sight it appears as though he meant it to be joined with the *praenomen* *Imperatoris* as an introductory title denoting his position. If this were so, the change in the character of *Caesar* begun by Claudius would have been complete and *Impertor Caesar* would under Vespasian have established themselves in the initial position which they retained until the end of the empire, as a combined title peculiar to the ruler. But *Caesar* was also assumed by his sons; Titus placed it between his *praenomen* and his *cognomen* and Domitian regularly has it before his *cognomen*.³⁰ Probably, therefore, Vespasian conceived *Caesar* to be a gentile *nomen* with which he replaced his original *cognomen*, *Flavius*, in virtue not of adoption but of accession.³¹ *Imperator Caesar Augustus* was the founder of an imperial house into which had entered *Imperator Caesar Vespasianus Augustus* and his sons *Titus Caesar Vespasianus* and *Caesar Domitianus*.³²

Nor was the order of Vespasian's formula settled immediately. Early issues of coins in the east and two copies of a discharge issued to veterans of the *legio II Adiutrix* in Rome on March 7, 70, show *Imp. Vespasianus Caesar Augustus*.³³ Moreover, in the beginning some coins omit *Augustus*, and both coins and inscriptions show occasionally the order *Imperator Caesar Augustus Vespasianus*.³⁴ Probably, therefore, the style was not finally determined until after

²⁹ For Vespasian's formula, see *RE* VI (12) 2635-2637; (*DE* has not reached *Ve*); *PIR*² III 180 *F* no. 398; Dess. III 1 269-270; *CIL* XVI 10-23; *BMC* below in n. 33. Doer, *Namengebung* 97-104, calls attention to the inheritance of the mother's name as a *cognomen* in -anus by the second son as a characteristic of central Italy, in origin Etruscan; compare *Vespasianus*, *Domitianus*; the family came from Reate.

³⁰ For Titus and Domitian, see below pp. 27, 39.

³¹ This is confirmed by the position of the ancestors in the Flavian formulas, see below p. 55.

³² Vespasian's realization that the man counted for more than mere titles appears in a story told by Dio, LXVI (LXV) 11 3, that when Arsaces addressed a letter to him: βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ἀρσάκης Φλαυίῳ Οὐεσπασιανῷ χαίρειν, Vespasian omitted all his imperial titles in his reply. For the parallel with Augustus, see McFayden *Hist. Title Imp.* 64.

³³ For Vespasian's coinage in the east, see *BMC* II 94, 109; contrast the Roman coinage of 69/70, pp. 1, 111, with *Imp. Caes. Vesp.* Coins on which *Caesar* is omitted are not relevant, since this was done on the *quadrantes* of Rome throughout the reign, to economize space, see *BMC* II 134-135 (of 71), 138-139 (of 72/73), 162 (of 74), 166 (of 75), 170 (of 76), 175 (of 77/78), and on *asses* of Commagene, 217 (of 70?) and on *aurei* of Antioch, 106 (of 72). The diplomas are *CIL* XVI 10, 11; the *leg. II Ad.* was originally levied from the sailors of the fleet at Ravenna. The other diplomas of Vespasian, from Feb. 9, 71 (no. 12) through Apr. 15, 78 (no. 23) have, where the heading is preserved, *Imp. Caesar Vespasianus Aug.* The inscriptions show both of these orders, namely *Imp. Caes. Vesp. Aug.* (most common) and *Imp. Vesp. Caes. Aug.* (not infrequent), as well as that mentioned in the next sentence, *Imp. Caes. Aug. Vesp.* (infrequent); see Dess. III 1 p. 269.

³⁴ For the omissions of *Aug.*, see *BMC* II 67. For *Imp. Caes. Vesp.* alone on a first issue from Tarraco, see *BMC* II liv; compare two inscriptions listed in Dess. III 1 p. 269, namely 984 from Rome and 1979 from Isauria. Mattingly, *MS* II 9 and *BMC* II liv n. 3, suggested that the order *Imp. Caesar Aug. Vespasianus* was meant to recall *A. Vitellius Imp. Germ.* but the parallel is hard to see.

the senate had accepted Vespasian in December or even until Vespasian himself reached Rome, probably at some time during the summer of 70.³⁵

The position assigned to *Imperator* in the formula of Titus while he was heir fluctuated considerably.³⁶ Occasionally during the reign of Vespasian, *Augustus* appears incorrectly for Titus as well.³⁷ Titus established the form of his name, which he continued as emperor, by placing his own *praenomen* before *Caesar* to distinguish himself from his father.³⁸ Thus as heir his formula runs (*Imp.*) *Titus Caesar (Imp.) Vespasianus (Imp.)*, with *Imperator* appearing only once but in any of the three positions indicated.³⁹ As emperor it is regularly *Imp. Titus Caesar Vespasianus Aug.*⁴⁰

Domitian, who did not receive the *praenomen Imperatoris* under either Vespasian or Titus, used the simple formula *Caesar Domitianus* as heir and *Imp. Caesar Domitianus Aug.* as emperor.⁴¹ The omission of his personal *praenomen* was undoubtedly due to the fact that his *cognomen* distinguished him sufficiently from his father and his brother.⁴²

Nerva followed the Flavian practice of dropping his *praenomen* and *nomen*, *M. Cocceius*, but he reverted to the Julio-Claudian use of *Caesar* after his own *cognomen*: *Imp. Nerua Caesar Aug.*⁴³ Since he had a remote relationship with the Julio-Claudian house, it is possible that he meant to indicate that the old "principate" had been revived.⁴⁴ Or he may have meant to contradict the dynastic policy of the Flavians by using *Caesar* as an imperial title, not as a

³⁵ For Vespasian's recognition at and arrival in Rome, see M. Hammond, "The Tribunician Day etc." in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* XV (1938) 33-34 nn. 113-114. *Imp. Caes. Vesp. Aug.* became established permanently with *cos. iter tr. pot.*, that is, in 70, see *BMC* II 69 ff.

³⁶ For Titus' use of *Imperator*, see Hammond *Transmission* 80-82, who cites in n. 94 Pick in *Zschr. für Num.* XIII (1885) 190-238.

³⁷ Dess. III 1 p. 270; for eastern coins, see *BMC* II lxxv, lxxix.

³⁸ For Titus' formula, see *RE* VI (12) 2696-2697, 2708-2713; (*DE* has not reached *Ti*); *PIR*² III no. 391; Dess. III 1 pp. 270-271; *CIL* XVI 24, 26; *BMC* below in n. 40.

³⁹ McFayden, *Hist. Title Imp.* 65 (especially n. 103), thought that Titus' use of *Imp.* while he was heir was the last time that as a *cognomen* it denoted a subordinate *Imperator* and that thereafter *Caesar* replaced it. However, Titus' possession of the secondary *imperium* is not certain, nor was he ever *designatus Imperator*, *MS* II 8; *BMC* II xix, so that the *praenomen* probably still had no connection with the *imperium*. An isolated later parallel occurs for Caracalla in *CIL* VI 1050: *M. Aurelio / Antonino / Caes. Imp.*, which probably represents his position as *designatus Imperator*, below p. 35.

⁴⁰ Diplomas of Titus are *CIL* XVI 24-26. *Vespasianus* is sometimes omitted on coins, see *BMC* II 471, 478, index V; and compare Dess. 263, 6088 (*lex Salpensana*) ch. xxii line 8.

⁴¹ For Domitian's formula, see *RE* VI (12) 2547, 2550-2551; *DE* II 3 2028-2033; *PIR*² III 147 *D* no. 259; Dess. III 1 271-273; *CIL* XVI 28-39; suppl. 158-159 *BMC* II 460-461, 466-467. *Domitianus Caesar* occurs on *denarii* from Ephesus, *BMC* II 98-99 (of 71?); on an inscription from Bithynia, *CIL* III suppl. 6993 = Dess. 253 (of 77/78), which gives also *Imp. Caesar Vespasianus Aug.* and *Imp. T. Caesar*; and on one from Armenia, *CIL* III 303 = Dess. 8904 (of 76?), which gives *Imp. Vespasiano Caesare Aug., Imp. Tito Caesare*, and [*Domitian*]o [*Caes*]are.

⁴² Domitian's *praenomen* was also *Titus*, see *RE* VI (12) 2543.

⁴³ For Nerva's formula, see *RE* IV (7) 136-137; *PIR*² II 292 *C* no. 1227; Dess. III 1 273-274; *CIL* XVI 40; *BMC* III 617, 619, 620; *DE* has not yet reached *N*. Inscriptions occasionally, but coins never (Dess. III 1 p. 273), show *Imp. Caes. Nerua Aug.*

⁴⁴ The *Cambridge Ancient History* (hereafter *CAH*) XI 189. Nerva was the last emperor buried in the Mausoleum of Augustus, S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of*

family name. In any case, he undoubtedly intended a "republican" contrast to Domitian's autocracy.

Trajan, upon his adoption, assumed the *cognomen* of *Nerua* but retained in addition his own, *Traianus*. He did not use his personal *praenomen* or *nomen*, *M. Ulpius*.⁴⁵ Apart from Pliny's mention of *Caesar* and *Imperator* among the successive grants to him after his adoption, there is no evidence for his style before he became emperor.⁴⁶ In his imperial formula, the position of *Caesar* varies. At first he sometimes followed Nerva: *Imp. Nerua Caesar Traianus Aug.* More frequently he reverted to the Flavian practice: *Imp. Caesar Nerua Traianus Aug.*⁴⁷ The latter seems to have been that which he himself approved.⁴⁸ Trajan therefore reverted from the practice of the Julio-Claudians, as revived by Nerva, to that devised by the Flavians.

Hadrian also dropped his own *praenomen* and *nomen* of *Publius Aelius*, and assumed Trajan's, but not Nerva's, *cognomen* before his own.⁴⁹ As evidence for his formula while heir there is only a lost *aureus*, which is reported to have read *Hadriano Traiano Caesari*.⁵⁰ If this was genuine, it affords the first clear instance in which *Caesar* after the name had become a title to designate the heir.⁵¹ The new practice undoubtedly was modeled upon the appearance of *Caesar* in the formulas of Titus and Domitian under Vespasian, but the change from a name to a title, so far as such a gradual change can be dated, should be placed under Nerva and Trajan. Not even yet, as the use for heirs shows, did *Caesar* wholly cease to be a name passed from father to son, from ruler to destined successor, because in the appointment of a successor the establishment of filiation by blood or adoption remained an important element.⁵²

Ancient Rome 334, though the body of Julia Domna may have lain in it temporarily, *id.* pp. 333, 335, 477 from Dio LXXVIII (LXXIX) 24 3.

⁴⁵ For Trajan's formula, see *PIR* III 464 *U* no. 575; (*RE* and *DE* have not reached *UI*); *CIL* XVI 42-65, suppl. 160-165; Dess. III 1 p. 274; *MS* II 236; *BMC* III 617-621; Strack I (*Trai.*) throughout.

⁴⁶ Pliny *Pan.* 8 6.

⁴⁷ The inscriptions occasionally also show *Imp. Nerua Trai. Caesar Aug.* And both inscriptions and coins, *BMC* III xxv, may omit *Caesar* or *Nerua* or both. On the coins, *Imp. Nerua Caes. Traian.* appears only in 98/100, and occurs on all metals in the same issues as the more usual order, but much less frequently, see *BMC* III xxiv, lvii-lviii, xciv, 620 under the heading *Imp. Nerua Caes. Traian.*; Strack I (*Trai.*) 20-21.

⁴⁸ The diplomas of Trajan show *Imp. Caes. etc.* from the beginning, for instance *CIL* XVI 42 of Feb. 20, 98. The variations on the coins and inscriptions may be due to the fact that at first some people followed Nerva's style until they knew definitely what Trajan wished.

⁴⁹ For Hadrian's formula, see *RE* I (1) 496, 499-500; *DE* III 607-614; *PIR*² I 28 *A* no. 184; Dess. III 1 p. 276; *CIL* XVI 66-86, suppl. 169, 173, 174; *BMC* III 616.

⁵⁰ For the lost *aureus* of Hadrian *Caesar*, see *BMC* III 124 no. * from a cast of Cohen II 246 no. 5, discussed by Hammond *Transmission* 92 n. 169.

⁵¹ Trajan may have used *Caesar* for the brief period during which he was heir, see Hammond *Transmission* 88-89. However, Victor *Caes.* 13 12, quoted below n. 57, puts the first use of *Caesar* to denote the heir as after the adoption of Hadrian and the death of Trajan. This suggests, but does not prove, that Victor regarded Hadrian as the first to use *Caesar* as a title of succession.

⁵² For the importance of inheritance in the succession, see Kornemann *DP* throughout; Béranger, *Recherches etc.* 141-149, connecting inheritance, adoption, and the gesture on accession which he calls "le refus du pouvoir".

When Hadrian became emperor, his formula on coins first ran *Imp. Caes. Hadrianus Aug.*, but eventually he reduced this ordinarily to *Hadrianus Augustus*.⁵³ In the east, the order varies between *Hadrianus Aug.* and *Aug. Hadrianus* and it is likely that this style, so far as it was not simply economical, reflects his Hellenizing tendency; since *Augustus* was a title for the ruler, he used it in the way in which the Greek monarchs had employed βασιλεύς, before or more commonly after a single name.⁵⁴ On inscriptions, he is usually *Imp. Caes. Traianus Hadrianus Aug.*⁵⁵

Hadrian's first choice as heir, L. Ceionius Commodus, retained his own *praenomen* after his adoption but adopted the *nomen* of Hadrian and placed *Caesar*, according to the Julio-Claudian fashion, in the position of a *cognomen* so that he appears as *L. Aelius Caesar*.⁵⁶ The *Life* says of him: *nihil habet in sua uita memorabile, nisi quod primus tantum Caesar est appellatus non testamento, ut antea solebat, neque eo modo quo Traianus est adoptatus, sed eo prope genere quo nostris temporibus a uestra clementia Maximianus atque Constantius Caesares dicti sunt, quasi quidam principum fili uirtute designati augustae maiestatis heredes*.⁵⁷ The statement that all *Caesares* before Trajan had become so by will is perhaps a confused recollection that *Caesar* had been inherited as a family name until the beginning of the second century.⁵⁸ Nor would the writer have known that

⁵³ Mattingly, *BMC* III xxv, cxv-cxvi, dates the dropping of *Imp. Caes.* from the coinage of Hadrian about 125; Strack, II (*Hadr.*) 12-13, in 123/124. In general for the formula of Hadrian, see L. Perret, *La titulature impériale d'Hadrien*.

⁵⁴ For the use of βασιλεύς before or after the personal name of a ruler, see M. Hammond, "Hellenistic Influences on the Structure of the Augustan Principate" in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* XVII (1940) 13, esp. nn. 131-133. Béranger, *Recherches* etc. 50, 54, compares βασιλεύς with *Imperator* rather than with *Augustus*. Mattingly, *MS* III 335; *BMC* III cliv, clxi, 395 no. 1095, suggests that Hadrian's shortened formula with its variable order, *Hadr. Aug.* or *Aug. Hadr.*, was meant to connote that he was a second Augustus; compare *CAH* XI 307; Strack II (*Hadr.*) 13. But this is perhaps less likely than the explanation in the text.

⁵⁵ Dess III 1 p. 276; this order is invariable on the diplomas which have the headings preserved, *CIL* XVI 67-86, and not unexampled on coins, see *BMC* III 617; Strack II (*Hadr.*) 1; Perret *Tit. Hadr.* 15-18. The ancestors usually come between *Imp. Caes.* and the rest, below p. 56.

⁵⁶ For Aelius, see *RE* III (6) 1830-1831; *DE* III 638-639; *PIR*² II 136 no. 605; Dess, III 1 p. 277; *BMC* III 622; Strack II (*Hadr.*) 166-167.

⁵⁷ SHA *Ael.* 2 1-2 with *uirtute* emended from *uiri et*; compare § 1 2: *qui primus tantum Caesaris nomen accepit, adoptione Hadriani familiae principum adscitus*. Actually previous heirs had received *Caesar* by adoption, see *BMC* I cli n. 1. Compare SHA *Ver.* 1 6: *Lucius Aelius Verus, qui ab Hadriano adoptatus primus Caesar est dictus* etc.; Vict. *Caes.* 13 12: *abhinc* (the adoption of Hadrian and the death of Trajan; see above n. 51) *diuisa nomina Caesarum atque Augusti indutumque in rem publicam uti duo seu plures summae potentiae dissimiles cognomento ac potestate dispari sint*. All of these passages show that adoption was still regarded in the fourth century as an important factor in assuring the orderly succession of someone not an heir by blood. E. Hohl, "Über die Glaubwürdigkeit der Hist. Aug." in *Sitz.-ber. der deutsch. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin Kl. für Gesell.-Wiss.* 1953 no. 2 ch. II, pp. 33-54, argues that the *Life* of Aelius is worthless as a historical source and shows, pp. 35-40, that it wrongly calls him *Verus* by confusion with his son, who took this name (Marcus' family name, below p. 31) only when Marcus made him co-emperor in 161.

⁵⁸ Possibly the confusion arose from a belief that previously only emperors had been called *Caesar*; a belief perhaps based on the title of Suetonius' *Vitae XII Caesarum*, which ended with Domitian.

possibly Trajan and Hadrian had for a brief time been *Caesares* without other titles.⁵⁹ His *tantum Caesar* means, naturally, "only Caesar (without other title)", and not necessarily "without other powers", since Aelius had held the tribunician power and probably a proconsular *imperium*.⁶⁰ Despite these inaccuracies, the emphasis laid by the *Augustan History* on the significance of the change in the use of *Caesar* for Aelius is as justified as is that in the *Life* of Marcus on the significance of the status of colleague given by Marcus to Verus.⁶¹ Though *Caesar* appears as a *cognomen* in Aelius' formula, it was actually almost a title, since his son did not assume it at the same time.⁶²

On the death of Aelius, Hadrian adopted Titus Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Arrius Antoninus, who should gladly have exchanged so cumbersome a name for *Titus Aelius Antoninus*.⁶³ This new name followed the practice of Aelius in keeping his own *praenomen* but adopting the *nomen* of Hadrian. Antoninus assumed at once the *praenomen Imperatoris*.⁶⁴ He indicated his secondary rank by placing *Caesar* not immediately after *Imp.* but after *T. Aelius*, as had Aelius, and by not adding *Augustus*. In full, therefore, his names and titles as heir read *Imp. T. Aelius Caesar Antoninus*, followed by his ancestors and honors.⁶⁵

Upon his accession, he advanced *Caesar* to the imperial position after *Imp.*, placed his ancestors between *Imp. Caesar* and his name, inserted the *cognomen* of Hadrian after Aelius, and added *Augustus*: *Imp. Caesar* (ancestors) *T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug.*⁶⁶ After the grant of the epithet *Pius* and the

⁵⁹ For Trajan and Hadrian as *Caesares*, see above nn. 46, 50, 51.

⁶⁰ For Aelius, see Hammond *Transmission* 93-95. The writer of the *Life* may have thought (if he thought at all, see above n. 57) that the absence of imperial titles, as on the funeral inscription, *CIL VI 1 985* = Dess. 329, implied the lack of those powers which he did not mention.

⁶¹ For Verus, see *SHA Marc.* 7 6.

⁶² For Aelius' use of *Caesar*, see von Rohden in *RE III* (6) 1831, citing *SHA Ael.* 2 1-2 and *Ver.* 1 6 (both quoted above n. 57); *Mom.* II 2 770 n. 1, 1139 nn. 1-2; *CIL XV 1 732*. The character of *Caesar* as a title is confirmed by the position of the ancestors following it, below p. 56 and n. 220.

⁶³ The coins of Antoninus with *Hadr.* between *Caesar* and *Antoninus*, *BMC III* 369 no. 4, 532 no. 1848 n., 551 no. 1 and no. 1498 n., seem to be hybrids, see Strack III (*Ant.*) 317 nos. 8a, 9; *BMC III* clii. *Hadrianus* does not occur in inscriptions before Antoninus' accession, see Dess. III 1 p. 278; W. Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius* I 50-51. Compare *RE II* (4) 2497-2499; *DE I* 499-500; *PIR² I* 310 A no. 1513 Doer *Namengebung* 122-123; *CAH XI* 330; G. Lacour-Gayet, *Antoninus Pius* 34. Antoninus' original name shows how the republican practice of using only three names had broken down because of the desire to perpetuate the memory of blood or adoptive relationships. The preservation after his adoption by Hadrian of elements of his original name without alteration is also characteristic of the practice under the empire; compare, for instance, Pliny the Younger's preservation of *Caecilius* after his adoption by his uncle *Plinius*, see below n. 225. Under the republic, an adopted person took the name of his new father and preserved his former name at most in a derivative form as an epithet, for instance, *Gaius Caesar Octavianus*, see above nn. 3, 29.

⁶⁴ For Antoninus' assumption of *Imp.*, see *BMC III* clii; compare *CIL VI 1 998* = Dess. 331 = Hüttl *Ant.* II 229; *CIL III* suppl. 13795 = Dess. 8909 = Hüttl *Ant.* II 222.

⁶⁵ For Antoninus' use of *Caesar*, see Hüttl *Ant.* I 73 n. 8. Vogt, *Alex. Münzen I* 4, 111-112, 132, regards the insertion of *Caesar* in the name of Antoninus as evidence that he was a "Bürgerkaiser", a "constitutional monarch", but Titus had also done so, see above p. 26. For the position of the ancestors after the names in the formulas of *Caesares*, see below p. 57.

⁶⁶ For Antoninus' imperial formula, see Dess. III 1 p. 278; *CIL XVI* 87-117, suppl. 177-184. The coins of 138/139 show both *Imp. Caes. Ael. Antoninus Aug.* and *Imp. T. Ael. Caes. Hadr. Anto-*

honor *pater patriae* the obverses of coins usually show, from 139 onwards, simply *Antoninus Aug. Pius p. p.*⁶⁷

Antoninus, upon his adoption by Hadrian, had been asked in his turn to adopt his wife's nephew, Marcus, and the son of Aelius, L. Ceionius Commodus.⁶⁸ Marcus had originally been named for his mother's grandfather, *M. Annius Catilius Seuerus*, but when his father died about 130, he was adopted by his father's father and changed his name to *M. Annius Verus*.⁶⁹ After their adoption by Antoninus, the youths became respectively *M. Aelius Aurelius Verus* and *L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus*.⁷⁰ These names followed the precedent of Antoninus himself: personal *praenomen*, *nomen* and *cognomen* of predecessor, and personal *cognomen*.⁷¹ When Marcus became destined successor in 138-139, he added *Caesar* at the end of his names.⁷² This change from Antoninus' practice of including *Caesar* within the name suggests that it had become fully a title. The other youth remained simply *Augusti filius*.⁷³ When Marcus received the tribunician power on Dec. 1, 147, and the secondary proconsular *imperium*, he made no change in his names and titles.⁷⁴ When he

ninus/Aug., see *BMC* IV 1-7, 10-15, 169-171, 175, 177. Hence the change from his previous formula was not made at once, see Strack III (*Ant.*) 1-4. So little evidence survives for the formulas of Trajan and Hadrian during the lives of their predecessors that it cannot be proved that the adoption of the predecessor's *cognomen* only after his death followed a practice established by them. The lost *aureus* of Hadrian, above n. 50, if it was genuine, suggests that he used *Traianus* at once. Hadrian never used *Ulpus* nor had Trajan used *Cocceius*. On the other hand, Aelius used only *Aelius*, not, like Antoninus, *Hadrianus* as well. Antoninus apparently began by using *Aelius* alone and then added *Hadrianus*. Perhaps this is an example of his *pietas* towards his unpopular predecessor, see below p. 47. Verus, unlike Marcus, did not use *Aurelius* until after his accession.

⁶⁷ *BMC* IV xxiv (*p. p.*), xxv (*Pius*), 16, 177; Strack III (*Ant.*) 5. The reverses after 139 usually show *tr. p. cos. II.* After 139, *Imp. Caes. T. Ael. Hadr. Antoninus Aug. Pius p. p.* continues to appear occasionally on obverses, see *BMC* IV 924 index VI *s. u.*, especially in 151/152, pp. 105-110, 309-315; Strack III (*Ant.*) 8, 23.

⁶⁸ Marcus' father, Annius Verus, married Domitia Lucilla, sister of Faustina the Elder; see *RE* I (2) 2289-2290.

⁶⁹ For the adoption of Marcus by his grandfather, see *RE* I (2) 2282.

⁷⁰ For Marcus' formula, see *RE* I (2) 2283; *DE* I 943-944; *PIR*² I 119 *A* no. 697; Dess. III 1 p. 280. For Verus', see *RE* III (6) 1834-1835; (*DE* has not reached *V*); *PIR*² II 138 *C* no. 606; Dess. III 1 p. 282. For the diplomas, see below n. 75.

⁷¹ The failure to perpetuate any element of Trajan's name is curious; it can hardly reflect doubts as to the validity of Hadrian's adoption, since upon this depended the line of succession and because Trajan continued to appear among the ancestors, see below p. 57. Did the peaceful and "senatorial" Antoninus want to obscure the memory of his warlike and military predecessor? But Hadrian, too, is portrayed as more anti-senatorial than Trajan, yet Antoninus preserved two of Hadrian's names. Antoninus may have hoped to make *Aelius* a gentile name for the ruling house, as *Aurelius* was to become under the Severi; if so, Marcus abandoned the project by dropping *Aelius* when he became emperor, see below n. 75.

⁷² For Marcus' formula as *Caesar*, see *RE* I (2) 2284; Hüttl *Ant.* I 73 n. 8. Various elements may be omitted, see Dess. III 1 p. 280; and the coins show chiefly *Aurelius Caesar* but also *M. Aurelius Caesar*, see *BMC* IV 913-914, 931 in index V; Strack III (*Ant.*) 13.

⁷³ For Verus' formula as *Caesar*, see *SHA Ver.* 3 4-5; *CIL* III 3843 = Dess. 358. There are no coins for him of so early a date.

⁷⁴ For Marcus' *tr. pot.*, see M. Hammond, "The Tribunician Day: A Reëxamination" in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* XIV (1949) 56-63, 73-74. The absence of the *prae-*

became emperor, he dropped *Aelius*, placed *Imp. Caesar* first, and added *Augustus*: *Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Antoninus Aug.*⁷⁵ He gave fulfillment to the wishes of Hadrian by associating his adoptive brother in the rule with the formula *Imp. Caes. L. Aurelius Verus Aug.*⁷⁶ After 164, Marcus' coins regularly show *M. Antoninus Aug.*⁷⁷

The titles of Commodus resembled in their changes those of Marcus. He began simply as *L. (Aelius) Aurelius Commodus*.⁷⁸ In 166, he added *Caesar*.⁷⁹ In 177 he became full colleague of Marcus with the formula *Imp. Caes. L. (Aelius) Aurelius Commodus Aug.* followed by the ancestors.⁸⁰ The death of Marcus meant no change in his titles, but he altered his *praenomen* to *Marcus*, advanced his ancestors to the "imperial" position within his name, permanently dropped *Aelius*, and added the by now dynastic name *Antoninus* after *Commodus*: *Imp. Caes. (ancestors) M. Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Aug.*⁸¹ On the coins the formula is, like those of his predecessors, usually shortened; at first it is sometimes *M. Antoninus Commodus Aug.* but often also (and later always) *M. Commodus*

nomen Imp. shows that this had no connection with the proconsular *imperium*, and that it had probably come to signify the supreme rule. *Tr. p.* naturally figured in the republican part of his formula.

⁷⁵ For Marcus' imperial formula, see *RE* I (2) 2291-2292. For his diplomas with Verus, see *CIL* XVI 121-125, suppl. 185-186; there survives only one of Marcus alone, no. 127 with the formula lost, and one of Marcus with Commodus, no. 128. Dessau gives one inscription, *CIL* VI 1012 = Dess. 360, from Rome, with *Aelius*; the coins often omit *Caes.* or *Imp. Caes.*, as they do for Hadrian and Antoninus, and occasionally *Aurelius*, but rarely *M.*, since this was necessary to distinguish Marcus from Lucius, see *BMC* IV cix-cx.

⁷⁶ For Verus' imperial formula, see *RE* III (6) 1938-1840; for the diplomas, see last note. The coins of Verus frequently omit *Imp. Caes.* and *Aurelius* but very rarely *L.*, MS III 249, see last note. SHA *Marc.* 7 5 says that Lucius retained *Commodus* after *Verus* but the coins and inscriptions do not support this. Compare also Hohl *Über die Glaubwürdigkeit usw.* (above n. 57) 35-43. It is interesting that Marcus had his colleague assume his own family *cognomen* and his son that of his colleague.

⁷⁷ *BMC* cix-cxv; *M.* is occasionally omitted on the coins of Marcus. Epithets of victory and the *trib. pot.* often follow the name on the obverse.

⁷⁸ For Commodus, see *RE* II (4) 2469-2471; *DE* II 1 550-556; *PIR*² I 301 C no. 1482; Dess II 1 283-284. For his use of "Aelius", see below n. 80.

⁷⁹ SHA *Com.* 11 13 gives the date on which Commodus became *Caesar* as Oct. 12, 166, perhaps from an official calendar, see *RE* II (6) 2466; J. M. Heer, *Der historische Wert der Vita Commodi usw.* 166-172. His brother, M. Annianus Verus, was also made *Caesar* but died in 169, see *RE* I (2) 2309. Coins show *Commodus Caesar* first in 175, see *BMC* IV 475, 476, 641. For inscriptions see Dess. III 1 p. 283.

⁸⁰ For Commodus' imperial formula as colleague of Marcus, see Hammond *Tr. Day* 52-53; *RE* II (4) 2468. *Aelius* is usually omitted by Commodus; *DE* II 1 550 gives no case of its occurrence, but it appears in the diploma of Marcus and Commodus of Mar. 23, 178, *CIL* XVI 128 (omitted by *DE*), and in an inscription from Praeneste, Dess. 376, see also III 1 p. 283. For Commodus' placing of the ancestors, see below p. 56; their position probably indicates a certain subordination. On the coins, Commodus dropped *Caes.*, whether before or after his name, as soon as he received *Aug.*, see *BMC* IV 497, 669; compare on Marcus above n. 75. Commodus also dropped the *praenomen Imp.* on coins as soon as his salutations began, see *BMC* IV 499, 672. His predecessors had likewise tended to eliminate *Imp. Caes.* from the coinage.

⁸¹ For Commodus' imperial formula as sole emperor, see *RE* II (4) 2469; Dess. III 1 283-284; for the one diploma, see below n. 84.

*Antoninus Aug.*⁸² He probably dropped *Aurelius* and retained *Commodus* to distinguish himself from Marcus. In 186, as will be shown below, he advanced *Pius Felix* from a position among the epithets to one before *Augustus* so that thereafter they became titles, or at least modifiers of *Augustus*.⁸³ Late in 191, however, he resumed his original names and replaced *Pius Felix* after *Augustus* so that his final formula ran *Imp. Caes. (ancestors) L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus Aug. Pius Felix*.⁸⁴ The reason for this reversion is hard to imagine; von Rohden thought that he desired to break with the tradition of Marcus and to stand independently, but the preservation of *Aurelius* and the resumption of *Aelius* maintained his connection with his predecessors.⁸⁵ Possibly he dropped *Marcus* and *Antoninus* because they had more "republican" connotations than *Aelius*.

The ephemeral successors of Commodus kept to the forms established by the Antonines.⁸⁶ For Pertinax, the coins and inscriptions show *Imp. Caes. P. Helvius Pertinax Aug.*⁸⁷ The *Life* says that on the day on which the titles were voted to him, he also received that of *pater patriae*, which it calls the first instance of so early a grant of this honor. It adds that his wife got the title *Augusta* but that Pertinax refused this for her and *Caesar* for his son.⁸⁸ These statements are of dubious value, and the assertion later in the *Augustan History* that both Pertinax and Didius took the *cognomen* of *Antoninus* receives no support from the epigraphic and numismatic evidence.⁸⁹ Didius appears as *Imp. Caes. M. Didius (Seuerus) Iulianus Aug.*⁹⁰ His *Life* says that he took *Seuerus* on his accession at the suggestion of the consul designate.⁹¹ But its infrequent occurrence suggests that he assumed it in competition with Septimius, perhaps when he offered to share the power with his rival.⁹² Dio and Herodian add

⁸² For the variations in the order of Commodus' formula during 180/183, see *BMC* IV 697-708, 759-789.

⁸³ For the position of *Pius Felix*, see below p. 48; *BMC* IV 721, 802.

⁸⁴ For Commodus' final formula, see *BMC* IV 746, 833; Vogt *Alex. Münzen* I 147, after Aug. 29, 191. The coins of Commodus usually omit *Imp. Caes.*, see above n. 80. The inscriptions sometimes retain the order *Pius Felix Aug.*, for instance, *CIL* VIII 305 = Dess. 378, from Africa; compare *DE* II 1 553, to which add *CIL* XVI 133, a diploma of Mar. 16, 192. For a full formula, see Dio LXXII (LXXIII) 15 5. Commodus is also said to have used the gladiatorial title *palus primus secutorum*, see SHA *Com.* 15 8; Dio LXXII (LXXIII) 22 2.

⁸⁵ von Rohden in *RE* II (4) 2470.

⁸⁶ For the circumstances and dates of the accessions of the successors of Commodus, see Hammond *Transmission* 107-110. For their formulas on coins, see *BMC* V xxxii-xxxv.

⁸⁷ For Pertinax's formula, see *RE* Suppl. III 899; *PIR* II 131 *P* no. 49; Dess. III 1 285; *BMC* V 1, 5; K. Pink in *Num. Zschr.* LXVI 23; L. Giordano, *Pertinace etc.* 173-199; (*DE* has not yet reached *P*).

⁸⁸ The grant of powers to Pertinax is given in SHA *Pert.* 5-6; see *BMC* V lxxv, esp. n. 3, and lxxvi-lxxvii.

⁸⁹ The statement in SHA *Macr.* 3 6 and *Diad.* 6 3 that Pertinax and Didius called themselves *Antoninus* is rejected in *RE* Suppl. III 899 and in V (9) 412.

⁹⁰ For Didius' formula, see *RE* V (9) 412; *DE* IV 176; *PIR* III² 16 *D* no. 77; Dess. III 1 p. 285; *BMC* V 11-12, 14-15; Pink in *Num. Zschr.* LXVI 23.

⁹¹ For Didius' use of *Seuerus*, see SHA *Did.* 7 2.

⁹² Mattingly, *BMC* V lxx, thinks that *Seuerus* may have been part of Didius' original name but that he used it on coins, see pp. 12, 15, only when he wished to come to terms with Septimius.

that the praetorians hailed him as *Commodus* but no evidence survives to show that he used this name.⁹³ Pescennius placed *Iustus* before *Augustus* upon his accession, in imitation of the position in which Commodus had put *Pius: Imp. Caes. C. Pescennius Niger (Iustus) Aug.*⁹⁴ Clodius inserted *Septimius* among his names, possibly on the occasion of his adoption, if indeed he was adopted, by Septimius.⁹⁵ He is at first *D. Clodius (Septimius) Albinus Caes.*; later *Imp. Caes. D. Clodius (Septimius) Albinus Aug.*

Septimius began a new dynasty. When he first took the imperial titles in 193, he inserted *Pertinax* as a second *cognomen* after *Seuerus*, to ingratiate himself both with the senate and with the legionaries, who had been disgusted by the praetorians' elevation of Didius.⁹⁶ His early formula runs *Imp. Caes. L. Septimius Seuerus Pertinax Aug.*⁹⁷ In 195, he connected himself by a pretended adoption with the Antonine house.⁹⁸ He then inserted as ancestors in the imperial position his predecessors back to Nerva and including Commodus

⁹³ For Didius' supposed use of *Commodus*, see Dio LXXIII (LXXIV) 12 1; Her. II 6 11; and compare Otho's supposed use of *Nero*, above n. 22.

⁹⁴ For Pescennius Niger's formula, see *RE2* XIX (37) 1090; (*DE* has not yet reached *P*); J. Hasebroek, *Untersuchung zur . . . K. Sept. Sev.* 154; Dess. III 1 p. 285; *BMC* V cx, 71, 74. Mattingly, *BMC* V cvii-cix, remarks that though the bulk of Pescennius' coinage was struck at Antioch, mints may have been active elsewhere in the east. He struck no *aes*. Pink, *Num. Zschr.* LXVI 24-25, gives no formulas for Pescennius. *Iustus* may have been an epithet qualifying Pescennius himself or an adjective modifying *Augustus*, see below p. 49; *BMC* V xxxv. As it appears only after his elevation as emperor, it was probably not part of his original name.

⁹⁵ For Clodius Albinus, see *RE* IV (7) 67; *DE* I 390; *PIR*² II 280 *D* no. 1186; Dess III 1 p. 285; Hasebroek *Sept.* 28; *BMC* V lxxxii, ciii, 35, 63-71, 132, 155; Pink in *Num. Zschr.* LXVI 25-26. Mattingly, *BMC* V lxxxii, thinks that *Septimius* was part of Clodius' original name, which he began to use on coins as a compliment to Septimius Severus. The presence or absence of *Septimius* on the coins of Clodius is not significant for the dating as it appears on coins with both *Caes.* and *Aug.* All Clodius' coinage was struck at Lyons and only one *aes* of him as *Aug.* is listed in *BMC* V cvi, 155 no. 622.

⁹⁶ For Septimius' formula, see *SHA Sept.* 7 9; Her. II 10 9, who attributes the name *Pertinax* to the acclamations of the legionaries. *SHA Pert.* 15 2 says: *a senatu Pertinacis nomen accepit*; see Her. II 14 3; Hasebroek *Sept.* 42-43; below p. 49. *Pertinax* appears on the earliest coins of Alexandria, those of year 2, namely Aug. 29, 193/ Aug. 28, 194, see Vogt *Alex. Münzen* I 160. On the date of Septimius' elevation, see Hammond *Tr. Day* 54 n. 370.

⁹⁷ For Septimius' formula, see *RE2* II (4) 1943; (*DE* has not yet reached *S*); *PIR* III 213 *S* no 346; Dess. III 1 p. 285; *CIL* XVI 134, the only surviving diploma of Septimius alone, dated Feb. 1, 194; *CIL* VIII 1170 = Dess. 413 = Hasebroek *Sept.* no. 4 = G. J. Murphy, *The Reign of the Emp. L. Sept. Sev. etc.* 7, an inscription of 193; *BMC* V lxxix, cxxx, and the coins throughout; Pink in *Num. Zschr.* LXVI 27. Septimius often omits *Imp. Caes.* at the beginning of his formula on coins and later dropped *Pert.* to make room for *Parth. Max.* Murphy's appendix B, pp. 102-103, on "Imperial Titles" is somewhat summary.

⁹⁸ For Septimius' invention of a relationship with the Antonines, see Dio LXXV (LXXVI) 7 4, and § 8 for his posthumous honors to Commodus. Dio, LXXVI (LXXVII) 9 4, reports a joke by Aspax on the occasion of Septimius' adoption which may imply that this was announced in (and confirmed by ?) the senate. Hasebroek, *Sept.* 88-93, points out that Septimius first appears as *diui M. Pii f.* on coins of *tr. p. III imp. V.* The third *tr. pot.* began on Dec. 10, 194, or Jan. 1, 195, and the fifth salutation was his first for the Parthian war, see Hammond *Tr. Day* 54-56; *RE2* II (4) 1943, 1960-1961.

as his brother, and he placed *Pius* in his name before *Pertinax*.⁹⁹ He did not, however, himself assume the name *Antoninus*, as is asserted in the *Life* of Maerinus.

However, when Septimius made his eldest son, Bassianus, *Caesar* in 196, he renamed him *M. Aurelius* (or *Aurellius*) *Antoninus Caesar*.¹⁰⁰ Bassianus is commonly known by the nickname *Caracalla*, properly *Caracallus*, derived from a Gallic cloak which, when he became emperor, he adopted for his own use and prescribed for the troops¹⁰¹. About a year after he became *Caesar*, perhaps on the occasion of the defeat of Albinus in February, 197, Caracalla acquired the novel title of *Imperator destinatus*, placed after *Caesar*.¹⁰² This title shows to what a degree *Imperator* had ceased to be an honorary *praenomen* and had come to denote the "emperor". During the winter of 198, after the capture of Ctesiphon, Septimius raised Caracalla to full colleagueship under the formula *Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius* (or *Aurellius*) *Antoninus Aug.*¹⁰³ By 200, Caracalla had inserted *Pius* and probably *Felix* before *Augustus*, in imitation of Commodus.¹⁰⁴ He appears on the coins from 194 as *Antoninus Augustus*, from 201 as *Antoninus Pius Augustus*, and also after 207 as *M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus*.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ For the Antonine ancestors, see below, p. 57; for *Pius*, below pp. 49-50. *Pius* does not appear in Septimius' diploma of Feb. 1, 194, *CIL* XVI 134. The inscriptions often omit it or place it after *Pertinax Aug.*, see Dess. III 1 p. 285. On the coins it first appears in 201: *Seuerus (Pius) Aug.*; see Hasebroek *Sept.* 92 n. 1 (dating in 200); *BMC* V cxlvii (201-209), 190, 202, (201), 299 (*aes* only in 202).

¹⁰⁰ For Caracalla's formula, see *RE* II (4) 2435-2438; *DE* II 1 105-107; *PIR* 203 *S* no. 321; Dess. III 1 288-290; *CIL* XVI 135 (with Severus), 137 and 138 (both alone). For Caracalla's assumption of the Antonine name, see SHA *Macr.* 3 6, *Diad.* 6 3; *Her.* III 10 5. The spelling *Aurellius* is regular for Caracalla and common for Elagabalus and Alexander, see *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (hereafter *TLL*) II 1482 lines 74 ff. *s. u.* The first occurrence of this spelling on a diploma is on that of Septimius and Caracalla of 208, *CIL* XVI 135, quoted at the opening of this article; compare 137 of Jan 7, 216; 138 has lost all of his name except]*toninus*. No. 139, of Elagabalus in 221, has *Aurelius* on the inside (which by then had come to be the less exact of the two texts, inside and outside). Nos. 142, 143, 144, 145, and suppl. 189, of Alexander, have *Aurellius* except that 143 has *Aurelio* (for *Aurellius*) inside. The coinage seems to show one *l*, see below. n. 111. Caracalla's original name was probably (*Septimius*) *Bassianus*; his original *praenomen* is not known. *Bassianus* derived from the father of Julia Domna, his mother. For his initial coinage in 186, see *BMC* V xcii, 43, 50, 150; Pink in *Num. Zschr.* LXVI 27.

¹⁰¹ The form of the nickname is either *Caracallus* or *Caracalla*, see the refs. in *RE* II (4) 2436 § 3, where its meaning is also discussed; also *TLL* III 427-428 for the word and *TLL Onomasticon* II 178 for its use as a name. Dio, LXXIX (LXXVIII) 3 3, discusses both the nickname *Caracalla* and two others which he uses more regularly for this emperor, namely *Bassianus* or *Tarautas*, see also § 9 3.

¹⁰² For Caracalla as *Imp. dest.*, see *RE* II (4) 2440-2441; *DE* II 1 107; Dess. III 1 288; *BMC* V xcv, 52 (silver but not *aes*, see p. 152); Pink in *Num. Zschr.* LXVI 34; Béranger *Recherches etc.* 148-149, who notes the variant *imp. designatus* in one African inscription, *CIL.*, VIII 10569 = suppl. 14394.

¹⁰³ For Caracalla as *Augustus*, see SHA *Sept.* 14 3; *CIL* VIII 2465 = Dess. 2485; *RE* II (4) 2441; *RE2* II (4) 1971; Hasebroek *Sept.* 113.

¹⁰⁴ For Caracalla's assumption of *Pius* and *Felix*, see below nn. 191, 193.

¹⁰⁵ For the formulas of Caracalla on coins, see *BMC* V cxxx, clxxi, 329, 345, 351; Pink in *Num. Zschr.* LXVI 28-29. The formula *M. Aur(el).* *Antoninus Pius Aug.* occurs only on *aes*; Pink dates it to 207, Mattingly to 202-209 (211).

Already in 198, his brother Geta had in his turn acquired a novel title: *L.*, later *P.*, *Septimius Geta nobilissimus Caesar*.¹⁰⁶ Towards the end of 209, Geta became equal to Caracalla with the formula *Imp. Caes. P. Septimius Geta Pius Aug.*¹⁰⁷ Naturally, as *Augusti*, both Caracalla and Geta have the Antonine ancestry in the imperial position.¹⁰⁸

The death of Septimius in 211 occasioned no change in the formulas of his two sons nor did the murder of Geta alter his brother's, unless it made *Felix* more regularly part of his name than it had hitherto been¹⁰⁹. The inscription of Caracalla's reign occasionally insert *Seuerus* between *Aurelius* and *Antoninus* but this was probably not an official practice since it does not appear on the coins or on the one surviving diploma issued by him alone.¹¹⁰ His coins continue to show both *Antoninus Pius Augustus* and *M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius (Felix) Augustus*.¹¹¹

The equestrian upstart Macrinus preserved the Severan style: *Imp. Caes. M. Opellius Seuerus Macrinus Pius Felix Aug.*¹¹² He inserted the *Seuerus* to connect himself with his predecessors, though he seems to have omitted the ancestors.¹¹³ His son appears as *M. Opellius Antoninus Diadumenianus nobilissimus Caesar*.¹¹⁴ No epigraphical evidence confirms the statement of Dio that Macri-

¹⁰⁶ For Geta's formula, see *RE* II (4) 1566-1568; *DE* III 527-528; *PIR* III 206 *S* no. 325; Dess. III 1 p. 291; there are no diplomas. The coins do not show *nobilissimus* before *Caesar*, *BMC* V cxxx, cxxxviii; Pink in *Num. Zschr.* LXVI 27; compare below n. 119 for Alexander. Many inscriptions and the earliest coins give Geta's *praenomen* as *L.*; Mattingly, *BMC* V cxxx, dates the change to *P.* in 202. For the title *nobilissimus Caesar*, see McFayden *Hist. Title Imp.* 65 n. 104.

¹⁰⁷ The coins of Geta change from *Caes.* to *Aug.* in 209, see *BMC* V clxxvi, clxxviii, clxxxii; Pink in *Num. Zschr.* LXVI 29.

¹⁰⁸ For the Antonine ancestry for Caracalla and Geta, see below p. 57; Dess. III 1 pp. 289, 291.

¹⁰⁹ For Caracalla's use of *Pius* and *Felix*, see below nn. 191, 193.

¹¹⁰ For Caracalla's use of *Seuerus*, see *RE* II (4) 2436; *DE* II 1 105-106; Dess. III 1 p. 289. *CIL* XVI 137, a diploma of Jan. 7, 216, lacks it. For the unreliability of Severan inscriptions in matters of titles, see W. F. Snyder in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* XV (1938) 62-69; Mom. II 2 801 n. 3.

¹¹¹ For coins of Caracalla as sole emperor, see *BMC* V cxci-cxcv, cc-cii, ccix-ccxi; Pink in *Num. Zschr.* LXVII 4. *M. Aurel. Antoninus Pius (Felix) Aug.* continues to appear only on the *aes*, see *BMC* V 474 ff. *BMC* V index V lists only a unique *aureus*, p. 174 n. 121, that spells out *Aurelius*; which, with the frequent *Aurel.*, suggests that this, rather than *Aurellius*, was the spelling preferred by the mint, see above n. 100.

¹¹² For Macrinus' formula, see *RE* XVIII (35) 541-542; (*DE* has not yet reached *M*); *PIR* II 433 *O* no. 71; Dess. III 1 p. 291 (there are no diplomas); Vogt *Alex. Münzen* I 173 Pink in *Num. Zschr.* LXVI 50-54; *BMC* V ccxvi. The coins omit *Pius Felix*.

¹¹³ Both SHA *Macr.* 5 7 and Dio, LXXVIII (LXXIX) 16 2, 37 5, comment that Macrinus had no right to *Seuerus*. SHA *Macr.* 2 1 also attributes to him *Antoninus*, probably from confusion with his son, and in § 11 2, *Pertinax*, both incorrectly; see H. J. Bassett, *Macrinus and Diadumenianus* 25. The eastern coins also show *Seuerus* regularly, see the indices to the *Hunterian Coll.* and the *British Museum Catalogues of Greek coins*. For the absence of ancestors in Macrinus' formula see refs. above in n. 112.

¹¹⁴ For the formula of Diadumenianus, see *RE* XVIII (35) 540; (*DE* II 2 1727 postpones to the still unpublished article *Macrinus*); *PIR* II 433 *O* no. 70; Dess. III 1 p. 292; *BMC* V ccxix; Bassett *Macr.* 26. The coins occasionally omit *Ant.* Dess. 462a, a lead pipe from Rome, uniquely gives *Seuerus* instead of *Antoninus*. For *Antoninus*, see Dio LXXVIII (LXXIX) 19 1, 37 6 SHA *Macr.* 2 5-3 9, 6 6, 7 5-8, 10 6, 14 1-2, *Diad.* 1-2, 6-7, *Alex.* 9 3.

nus, during his struggle against Elagabalus, raised his son to the rank of *Augustus*. But one *denarius*, probably minted at Antioch, and some local eastern coins agree with Dio by showing Diadumenianus as *Augustus*.¹¹⁵

When the army became discontented with Macrinus, the reputation of the Severan family enabled a niece of Julia Domna to secure support for her youthful son's claim to the throne. The boy's original name, derived from his father and great-grandfather, was *Varius Auitus Bassianus*.¹¹⁶ But he is commonly known by the name of the god of Emesa, *Elagabal*, whose priest he was.¹¹⁷ Upon his elevation, he pretended that he had really been born from an affair between Caracalla and his mother and, as emperor, he adopted or accepted from the soldiers Caracalla's style: *Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Aug.*, as well as the Severan ancestry. It is, therefore, often difficult to determine whether inscriptions or coins belong to him or to Caracalla.¹¹⁸

In 211 Elagabalus was compelled by the troops to adopt as his successor his cousin, son of Julia Mamaea, whose name appears to have been *Gessius Bassianus Alexianus*. The new heir exalted his name by including that of the great Alexander, already a favorite hero of Caracalla: *M. Aurelius Alexander nobilissimus Caesar*.¹¹⁹ Before the death of Elagabalus, Alexander had been raised

¹¹⁵ Dio, LXXVIII (LXXIX) 34 2, 37 6, 38 2, asserts the elevation of Diadumenianus as *Augustus*. The prophecies of the *mathematici* quoted in SHA *Diad.* 5 1 and 4 imply that he became *imperator*, see also the letter "quoted" in § 8 5: *patri Augusto filius Augustus*. SHA *Macr.* also suggests an equality, § 5 1: *in participatum adscito*; § 6 1: *ex oratione Macrini et Diadumeni imperatorum*. But in § 10 4, the *Life* states definitely that Diadumenianus was only *Caesar*, never *Augustus*. Mattingly, *BMC V* ccxiv, accepts his elevation to full equality on the basis of one *denarius*, p. 511 no. 95, which he attributes to Antioch and which reads on the obverse: *Imp. C. M. Opel. Ant. Diadumian. Aug.* See Hammond *Transmission* p. 118 with n. 349 for the Greek coins.

¹¹⁶ For the names and formulas of Elagabalus, see *RE* 2 VIII (15) 391-404 throughout; *DE* III 658-662; *PIR* I 194 A no. 1204 (in ed. 2, he is reserved for the *Varii*; contrast ed. 1 III 385 V no. 184); Dess. III 1 292-293.

¹¹⁷ Elagabalus was originally a local Syrian Baal, but he was identified in the Roman world with *Sol* and with *Jupiter*, see *RE* 2 VIII (15) 393, 397; *DE* II 3 2089; *PIR* I 194 A no. 1204; *RE* V (10) 2219-2222; *BMC V* ccxxxviii. From this identification derived the common but mistaken spelling *Heliogabalus*.

¹¹⁸ For Elagabalus, Pink, *Num. Zschr.* LXVII 11, and Mattingly, *BMC V* ccxxx, give the various formulas which appear on the coins; see also Vogt *Alex. Münzen* I 175. Dio, LXXVIII (LXXIX) 32 2, attributes the assumption of the name *M. Aurelius* (or *Aurellius*, above n. 100) *Antoninus* to acclamation by the legionaries; see LXXIX (LXXX) 2 2 for Elagabalus' pretended sonship from Caracalla; other references in *BMC V* ccxxxix n. 1. Dio regularly calls him "the false Antoninus", see particularly LXXIX (LXXX) I 1. For criteria for distinguishing coins of Caracalla and Elagabalus, see Cohen IV 321-322.

¹¹⁹ For Alexander's formula, see *RE* II (4) 2526-2528; *DE* I 396-397, III 665 (for the diplomas, see below n. 121); *PIR* 2 I 328 A no. 1610; Dess. III 1 p. 293-294; *BMC V* ccxli; Pink in *Num. Zschr.* LXVIII 13. The coins omit *nobilissimus* before *Caesar*; see above n. 106 for Geta. For the common spelling *Aurellius*, see above n. 100. Only as *Augustus* did he add *Seuerus* before *Alexander*; not, as the *Life* regularly places it, after in the form *Alexander Seuerus*, see W. Thiele *De Seuerio Alexandro Imp.* I n. 1. For the influence of Alexander the Great on him, and in general in the Severan period, see A. Jardé, *Études . . . sur . . . Sévère Alexandre* 3 n. 1; Hammond *Transmission* 120 n. 356; A. Bruhl, "Le Souvenir d'Alexandre le Grand et les Romains" in *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist. de l'École franç. de Rome* XLVII (1930) 202-221 (especially for Alexander pp. 218-219); P. Treves, *Il Mito di Alessandro etc.* 97-98 for Caligula and Caracalla (in n. 11 to ch. IV; Treves is primarily concerned with the literary tradition concerning Alexander).

to near, if not complete, collegiality as *Imp. Caes.* (ancestors) *M. Aurelius Alexander nobilissimus Caesar*.¹²⁰ Apparently, however, only on the death of his predecessor did he add *Seuerus* between *Aurelius* and *Alexander* and replace *nob. Caes.* with the fully imperial *Pius Felix Aug.*, so that his full name as emperor ran *Imp. Caes.* (ancestors) *M. Aurelius Seuerus Alexander Pius Felix Aug.*¹²¹

The specifically imperial part of the formula preserved to a surprising degree during the second century the form which it had assumed by the end of the Julio-Claudian period. Vespasian and Nerva, who came to power like Augustus as "new men", used only single elements of their personal names, since there was little likelihood that they would be confused with any predecessor. Domitian also employed only his *cognomen*, which was peculiar to him. But Septimius, who might have been expected to be satisfied with one personal element, kept his full three names. The four pretenders of the years 193-196 and later Macrinus did the same. Clearly, therefore, the peaceful century of rule by emperors bearing more than one personal name had antiquated the earlier and simpler practice of using only enough to distinguish the ruler from his predecessors.

Emperors who succeeded parents by blood or adoption naturally added some distinguishing personal element when their *cognomina* were the same as those of their predecessors. From the reign of Antoninus, the personal *praenomen* was regularly retained by all rulers; previously the practice had varied.¹²² In the case of Caracalla and his Severan successors, the fictitious adoption into the

¹²⁰ For Alexander's status as quasi-colleague under Elagabalus, see Hammond *Transmission* 121-122. *CIL* XVI 140 and 141, diplomas of 222, though very fragmentary, support his formula as given above. During the lifetime of Elagabalus, Alexander appears only as *Caesar*, not as *Augustus*, on the coinage (*denarii* and *aes*, not *aurei*), see *BMC* V 571, 614; Pink in *Num. Zschr.* LXVIII 13. Two graffiti from the walls of the quarters of the Seventh Cohort of the *Vigiles* (in Trastevere), *CIL* VI 1 3069 and 2999, read respectively: *Imperatores* (thus, for *Imperatoribus*) *Antonino et Al[e]ssandro | Grato et Se. cos. k. Iun[is] etc.*, and: *Imp. ||||| Alexand[ro] Caesa[re] Augg. Grato et S[e]l[e]uco cos. etc.* The first is in conflict with the *Feriale Duranum* col. II lines 16-18 in dating the association of Alexander before June 1, 221, instead of between June 14-30, as the *Feriale* does, see *Yale Classical Studies* VI (1940) 141-145, especially p. 142 at the end of n. 620, where the words *Imperatores Antonino et Al[e]ssandro* are regarded as a later addition to the graffito. The second graffito wrongly combines for Alexander *Caesar* and *Augustus* (in the plural *Augg.*), see *DE* III 665; Hammond *Tr. Day* 58-59 and *Transmission* 121-122 nn. 365-366. The uncertainty about Alexander's precise position and titles is the first instance of the increasing approximation during the third century of the titles of *Caesares* to these of *Augusti*, for which see *Mom.* II 1 1164 n. 5.

¹²¹ The coinage of Alexander shows *Pius* only in 231-235, see *MS* IV 2 71 (*BMC* has not yet appeared beyond Elagabalus); Pink in *Num. Zschr.* LXVIII 13. But *Pius Felix* occurs as early as 225 in an inscription, *Dess.* 479, and in a diploma, *CIL* XVI 142. For Alexander's full formula, see *RE* II (4) 2527; *DE* I 397; *PIR*² I 327 *A* no. 1610; *Dess.* III 1 p. 293; *CIL* XVI 142-145, suppl. 189 (diplomas of 225-233). The debate reported in *SHA Alex.* 6-11, in which the senate tried to force him to call himself *Antoninus* and *Magnus* and he refused, is probably a worthless invention to account for the absence of *Antoninus* from the name of an emperor so admired by the the *SHA*, see C. Lécrivain, *Études sur l'Hist. Aug.* 77-78.

¹²² For the retention of the personal *praenomen*, see Perret *Tit. Imp. d'Had.* 19.

popular Antonine house let to the assumption of the names proper to it and to the elimination of most of the Severan elements.¹²³

At first sight, the names and titles of the second century rulers seem longer and more cumbersome than those of the Julio-Claudians and suggest that the general tendency towards multiple nomenclature affected also the imperial formula. But in fact, the personal names of the emperors of the second century do not exceed three or four and, if *Caesar* be counted as a family *cognomen*, both Claudius and Nero in the early Empire regularly show three names. The cumbersomeness of the formulas of the second century is due to the greater length of such names as *Hadrianus* and *Antoninus* compared with *Claudius* or *Caesar*, to the inclusion within the strictly imperial part of the formula of such epithets as *Pius* and *Felix*, to the change of *Caesar* from a name to a title, to the long series of ancestors which had accumulated by the end of the period, and to the accumulation of magniloquent epithets.

The *praenomen Imperatoris*, resumed by Nero, was adopted by all succeeding emperors save Galba. It held the first place in the formula as the title preëminently of the ruler in virtue of his military position. Although it probably never denoted the specifically proconsular *imperium*, it did come to signify the more generalized *imperium* into which the proconsular merged under the Flavians.¹²⁴ In the second century, however, the proconsular *imperium* reappears distinct from the general one to indicate the military command of the emperor in the provinces. It received recognition by the use of *proconsul* in the republican part of the formula.

Closely united with *Imperator* was *Caesar*. Vespasian placed this second in his formula in imitation of Augustus.¹²⁵ The Flavians still regarded it as a name which showed that they were members of a ruling dynasty.¹²⁶ Titus placed his *praenomen* before *Caesar*. Nerva did the same with his personal *cognomen*.¹²⁷ Hence *Imperator Caesar* did not become the invariable initial title of the emperor until early in the reign of Trajan. Thereafter it contin-

¹²³ For the "Antonine name", see E. Renan, *Marc-Aurèle* 487, citing from the SHA *Sept.* 19 2-3, *Car.* 9 2, *Geta* 2 2-5 *Macr.* 2 5-3, 7 5-8, 10 6, *Diad.* 1-2, 3 1, 6, *Hel.* 1 5-7, 2 4-3 3, 17 9-18 1, 24 6-7, *Alex.* 5-12, *Gord.* 4 7-8. Elagabalus was the last to assume *Antoninus*. It may be noted that if a single name is used on the coinage in the Severan period, it is the *cognomen*, as *Seuerus* or *Antoninus*, and not the gentile *nomen*, as *Septimius* or *Aurelius*, see BMC V xxxiii.

¹²⁴ For a collection of relevant citations on the *praenomen Imp.*, see TLL VII 1 556-560 under *imperator* III. For the development of the specific (proconsular) *imperium* of Augustus into a generalized (monarchical) *imperium*, see Béranger *Recherches etc.* 68-74; for *Imperator*, see pp. 50-54 and compare above n. 4.

¹²⁵ For *Caesar*, see TLL *Onomasticon* I 36-37 under *Caesar* IV.

¹²⁶ With the Flavian use of *Caesar*, compare its assumption by Sabinus in Gaul in 70, above n. 11. A. H. J. Greenidge, *Roman Public Life* 354, follows a suggestion of O. Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte* I 508, that the assumption of the name *Caesar* may have served to establish a claim to the crown property in virtue of family inheritance. But it is dubious whether the crown property could pass by will or inheritance, see Hammond *AP* 243 n. 74, 244 n. 84.

¹²⁷ Mommsen, II 2 769 n. 5, compares the variation in the placing of *Caesar* in the formula with variations in the order of Roman personal names at all periods.

ued in use until the fourth century. Then, like the indication of imperial salutations, it gradually disappeared from the formula and was replaced by *dominus noster*, which had begun to appear formally alongside of *Imperator Caesar* as early as the Severi.¹²⁸

The use of *Caesar* alone after the name to indicate the heir to the throne has ordinarily been attributed to the Flavians because of the formula *Domitianus Caesar*.¹²⁹ At that time, however, *Caesar* was still a family name. Trajan may have been for a brief period *Traianus Caesar*, if we may thus interpret Pliny the Younger's vague statement. And one now lost *aureus* is reported to have read *Hadriano Traiano Caesari* for Hadrian as successor designate. But the *Augustan History* justly signalizes *L. Aelius Caesar* as the first clear case in which *Caesar* is the title of a subordinated successor, the usage which became so important under Diocletian. Mommsen points out that the son of Aelius, L. Verus, was the first agnate descendant of an emperor not to receive the name *Caesar*; even upon his adoption by Antoninus he did not assume it.¹³⁰ This confirms the view that it had become a title confined to the heir, not a name belonging to the family. Nevertheless, it never wholly lost its character of a family name. Clodius probably and Alexander certainly were adopted when they were elevated to the rank of *Caesares*.

This use of *Caesar* after the name as a title perhaps contributed to the change of *Augustus* from an adjective to a noun. *Augustus* retained the significant position which it had assumed under the first emperor at the end of the strictly imperial part of the formula. It had originally been an adjectival epithet, like those common under the republic. But its use alone to designate the first ruler, or even any ruler, converted it into a noun, either a proper name or a term for the position of ruler.¹³¹ When Commodus placed before it the adjectives *Pius Felix*, he may have meant these to be adjectival epithets of himself but it is equally possible that he intended them to modify *Augustus*.¹³²

Yet the title *Augustus* always remained closely connected with the personal name of the ruler, probably because it did not wholly lose its original significance as an adjectival *agnomen*. When the emperor died, and particularly if he was

¹²⁸ For the disappearance of *Imp. Caes.*, see McFayden *Hist. Title Imp.* 67 especially n. 111; Dess. III 1 286.

¹²⁹ Mommsen, II 1 770 n. 5, cited Tac. *Hist.* III 86 3: *Domitianum . . . Caesarem consalutatum miles . . . deduxit*; see BMC II xx; CAH XI 414; von Premerstein *Vom Werden* 271-272; A. Gudeman, *Tac. Dialogus*² p. 236 on § 8 7; Neumann in *RE* III (6) 1287 under *Caesar*. See generally *TLL Onomasticon* II 37-38 under *Caesar* V; Mom. II 2 770-771. For *Caesar Augustus*, see Kornemann *DP* 91.

¹³⁰ Mom. II 2 771 n. 1, compare 1139-1141; McFayden *Hist. Title Imp.* 65 n. 104. Von Premerstein, *Vom Werden* 271-272, refers to Dio LIII 18 2: ἡ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἢ τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου πρόσρησις δύναμιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς οἰκείαν προστίθῃσι, δηλοῖ δ' ἄλλως τὸ μὲν τὴν τοῦ γένους σφῶν διαδοχὴν, τὸ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀξιωματος λαμπρότητα; compare SHA *Alex.* 10 4, quoted below n. 134.

¹³¹ *TILL* II 1382-1390 treats the use of *Augustus* for Augustus and his successors as a *cognomen* and in cols. 1390-1403 discusses its adjectival use for things connected with the emperor.

¹³² For the uncertainty whether *Pius Felix* modified the emperor personally or the title *Augustus*, see below pp. 48-49 and compare Trajan's use of *Optimus*, below pp. 44-45.

deified, *Imperator Caesar* before his personal name and all the republican titles were dropped. A survey of the third index to Dessau shows that the simplest form of reference was to join *diuus* with the single most commonly used personal name, or perhaps with two such. However, *Augustus* likewise is not infrequently preserved, in the first century usually and in the second century always last. The typical form is that of the inscription on the Arch of Titus: *Senatus | Populusque Romanus | diuo Tito diui Vespasiani f. | Vespasiano Augusto |*.¹³³

It should also be remarked that *Augustus* does not occur for the ancestors in the filiation of living emperors. But by the end of the second century, such personal epithets as *Pius* for Antoninus and Severus or *Magnus* for Caracalla are preserved if they are mentioned as ancestors, as are likewise their military epithets. Hence *Augustus* was regarded not as a personal epithet but as one peculiar to the living, ruling emperor. It might, however, alone among the elements of the imperial formula, be preserved for a deceased emperor if he was the principal subject of an inscription and not merely included among the ancestors of some successor.

This exaltation of Augustus is symbolic, if not symptomatic. *Augustus* had a divine significance, it set the ruler above ordinary men. Despite its first bearer's "constitutionality", the term served to emphasize the absolutism of the imperial power and it subordinated the individual ruler to the tradition of the empire, as had "Pharaoh" in Egypt.¹³⁴ During the third century, the more human and Roman titles *Imperator Caesar* gave way to *dominus*, which likened the relation of the emperor to his subjects to that of a master to his slaves. But *Augustus* gained, if anything, enhanced importance as the chief designation of an autocratic ruler.

(2) EPITHETS.

The imperial epithets properly belong with the names and titles in the specifically imperial part of the formula. They have, however, even less significance for the constitutional development. *Augustus*, strictly an epithet, became so closely associated with the imperial position rather than with any specific emperor, that it joined with *Imperator Caesar* to form the titles of the ruler and as such has already been discussed. Two other epithets have become associated with individual emperors: *Optimus* is peculiar to Trajan, *Pius* to Antoninus.

¹³³ The inscription from the Arch of Titus is *CIL VI 1 945* = Dess. 265. The relevant material on the formulas of *diui* may be found in Dessau's third index, III 1 257-294.

¹³⁴ In *SHA Alex.* 10 4, Alexander is represented as saying in a speech to the senate: *Augustus primus est huius auctor imperii et in eius nomen omnes uelut quadam adoptione aut iure hereditario succedimus etc.* See the passage from Dio quoted above in n. 130.

The concept of an *optimus princeps*, the best prince and the *optimi status auctor*, creator of the ideal state, had republican antecedents.¹³⁵ The phrase *optimus princeps* is applied to Claudius in a senatorial decree quoted by Pliny the Younger and also in the Claudian decree of the senate against destroying buildings.¹³⁶ In the decision of a procurator of Sardinia of uncertain date but cited by a proconsul under Otho, the reigning emperor appears as *optimi maxime principis*.¹³⁷ A military document from Egypt speaks of citizenship acquired *beneficii eiusdem optimi principis*, namely from Domitian.¹³⁸ Pliny quotes from his own speech against Certus the phrase *reddat praemium sub optimo principe* (Nerva) *quod a pessimo* (Domitian) *accepit*.¹³⁹ And he regularly applies *optimus princeps* to Trajan during the early years of the latter's reign.¹⁴⁰ He also applies *optimus* to others than the emperor.¹⁴¹ The epithet therefore, unlike *Augustus* in 27 B.C., had been long in use to designate a "good" man, with philosophical and moral implications, and particularly to denote a "good" emperor.¹⁴²

At the opening of his *Panegyric*, Pliny states that the epithet *Optimus* had already been voted to Trajan by the senate.¹⁴³ The *Panegyric* was delivered in the autumn of 100 and it is not likely that Pliny would have added this positive statement about a well-known matter in a later revision.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, he constantly reverts to the idea, especially to contrast Trajan with Domitian.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁵ J. Vogt, "Vorläufer des *Optimus Princeps*" in *Hermes* LXVIII (1933) 84-92, traces the concept back to the Scipios and to the political meaning under the later republic of *boni* and *optimates*. See also for Cicero, E. Lepore, *Il Princeps Ciceroniano* 141-201. Vogt regards the revival of *optimus* Trajan as denoting the rapprochement between senate and emperor. See also *BMC* III xcii. Compare Béranger *Recherches etc.* 31-40 (*Princeps*), 55-68 (*Principatus* vs. *Domitianus*), 249 (*Optimus Princeps* as an aspect of natural monarchy).

¹³⁶ Pliny *Ep.* VIII 6 10 (see also § 13): *princeps optimus parensque publicus*. The decree is *Bruns* 200 no. 54 = *FIRA* I 288 no. 45 = *CIL* X 1401 = *Dess* 6043 line 3. See *RE* III (6) 2788; *DE* II 1 298 col. 1; *BMC* III lxx n. 2.

¹³⁷ *Bruns* 241 no. 71a = *FIRA* I 322 no. 59 = *CIL* X 2 7852 = *Dess* 5947 lines 9-10. Mommsen, *Hermes* II (1876) 106-111 = *GS* V (*HS* II) 329-335, dates the procurator Rixa under Nero, in 66/67, and refers the phrase to that emperor, see also *RE* X (20) 1367 under *Iuventius* 19; *PIR* II 256 I no. 592.

¹³⁸ *CIL* XVI 146 no. 12 = *Dess*. 9059 interior line 17, dated July 1, 94; see *CIL* X 444 = *Dess*. 3546 (from Lucania, cited in *DE* II 3 2041 col. 1), a gift of farms to a college of worshippers of Silvanus in honor of Domitian, which in lines 21-22 speaks of *salute optimi principis et domini*.

¹³⁹ Pliny *Ep.* IX 13 23; compare VI 27 3 for the contrast of *optimus* (*princeps*) with *pessimus quisque*. In *Pan* 38 1, 88 5, 89 1, Nerva is *optimus princeps* or the like; see in general M. Durry, ed. *Pliny Pan.* 18-21.

¹⁴⁰ Pliny *Ep.* II 13 8, III 13 1, 18 3, IV 22 1, V 13 7.

¹⁴¹ Pliny *Ep.* IX 22 1, X 2; *Pan.* 86 1; compare *CIL* II 1805 = *Dess*. 1406: *optimo uiro et integerrimo* of a certain Salutaris under Septimius Severus.

¹⁴² Pliny *Pan.* 88 3: *optimo cuique principum*.

¹⁴³ *Pan.* 2 7: *iam quid tam civile, tam senatorium quam illud additum a nobis "Optimi" cognomen*, and § 88 4: *Senatus Populusque Romanus Optimi tibi cognomen adiecit*.

¹⁴⁴ Durry *Pan.* 1-15; M. Hammond, "Pliny the Younger etc." in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* XLIX (1938) 119-120.

¹⁴⁵ Pliny *Pan.* 36 1, 56 1, 91 1, 95 4; compare § 53 2 and *Ep.* X 1 2: *optimus imperator*. See Hammond *Pliny* 121 n. 1, 124 n. 4.

The bronze coinage of 103/104 bears on its reverse *S.P.Q.R. Optimo Principi*, and Mattingly argued that the senate did not formally vote this honor until the end of the first Dacian War.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, though the coinage of all metals shows *Optimo Principi* for some years thereafter, the epithet *Optimus* alone appears in the formula only in 114.¹⁴⁷ Dio indeed states that the epithet *Optimus* was voted to Trajan in that year by the senate in honor of the submission of Parthimasisiris at Elegeia.¹⁴⁸ Only guesswork can harmonize these various dates. Perhaps the senate originally voted the title to Trajan soon after his accession and, when he modestly refused to use it, again hailed him as *Optimus Princeps* in 103, and finally in the early summer of 114 renewed the grant. After his final victory over the Parthians in the following autumn, signalized by his seventh salutation, Trajan felt that his achievements justified the epithet *Optimus*.¹⁴⁹

The epithet was meant to connect Trajan, the earthly ruler, with *Iuppiter*

¹⁴⁶ For coinage of 103/104, see *BMC* III lxx-lxxi, index p. 630. The date is only approximate as Trajan has the same obverse, with *tr. p. cos. V. p. p.*, from his fifth consulship in 103 until his designation for the sixth in 111, see *BMC* III 54, 87, 162, 203. On p. xxvi, Mattingly dates the phrase *Optimus Princeps* from about 105 and the epithet *Optimus* alone in 114/115, see also p. lx.

¹⁴⁷ For *Optimus* alone in 114, see R. P. Longden in *Journal of Roman Studies* XXI (1931) 10 n. 4; *BMC* III xxvi, lxi. When *Opt.* appears on the obverse, *Optimo Principi* is dropped from the reverse, see *BMC* III lxxiv, civ. For inscriptions showing *Optimus* before 114, see Longden *loc. cit.*; Strack I (*Trajan*) 36 n. 70.

¹⁴⁸ For the bestowal of *Optimus*, see Dio LXVIII 23 1 and compare LXVIII 19 3 for the salutation of Trajan by the troops at Elegeia. Mattingly, *BMC* III cv, lxxxii, identifies this salutation with the title *imp. VII*, against Strack I (*Trajan*) 35, 220-221.

¹⁴⁹ P. L. Strack, in *Gnomon* XIII (1937) 673-674, attacks Longden's and Mattingly's date for the grant of *Optimus*, namely 114/115, in view of the uncertain dates of the earthquake at Antioch, below n. 153, and of the capture of Ctesiphon. A diploma of Sept. 1, 114, *CIL* XVI 61, has *Optimus* with *tribunic. potestat. XVII imp. VII cos. VI*. A fragmentary one, *CIL* XVI 60, dated by Nesselhauf to 114, has *Optimus* with *imp. VI*, which led him in his note on no. 60 to place the acceptance of the title *Optimus* before the seventh salutation. Similarly, Durry, *Pan* 231-232, in appendix I, collects the relevant material under the following headings and dates: 1) epithet *Optimus* (98), 2) dedications *Optimo Principi* (103), 3) *agnomen* of *Optimus* (July, 114). However Alexandrian coins show *Optimus* only in year 18, Aug. 29, 114/Aug. 28, 115, see Vogt *Alex. Münzen* I 66, 92; Strack I (*Trajan*) 35 n. 68; *BMC* III liii; Longden in *JRS* XXI (1931) 10 n. 4. F. A. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War* 34-39, reviews all the above evidence and plots it on a somewhat complicated table on p. 35. He points out that the bulk of Alexandrian coinage for the Egyptian regnal year 18, beginning Aug. 29, 114, does not show *Optimus* and that if the diploma of Sept. 1, 114, gives the *terminus ante quem* for its bestowal, all this coinage must have been minted in advance and issued without the new and important title. To avoid this difficulty, he suggests that the diploma in question may be an instance in which the consular date is later than the imperial titles would suggest. If the consuls, who are attested only by this diploma (A. Degraffi, *Fasti Consulares* 34), do not belong in 114, then Dec. 9, 114, the last day of Trajan's *tr. pot.* xviii, becomes the *terminus ante quem*. However, on p. 197, Lepper would dissociate the acceptance of *Optimus* from the megalomania which he thinks overtook Trajan at the end of his life. While there are indeed indubitable cases of disagreement between imperial titles and consular dates on diplomas, for which see Lepper p. 37 nn. 1, 2, and add to his references Hammond *Tr. Day Reëx.* 40-44, 54-55, 72-73, it seems simpler to keep the diploma on Sept. 1, 114, and to assume that for some other reason, perhaps delay in news reaching Alexandria, the coins were prepared and issued there without the new title for at least the later part of 114.

Optimus Maximus, the heavenly.¹⁵⁰ Pliny draws the parallel in the *Panegyric* and it reappears on the Arch of Beneventum, dated by its inscription to 114.¹⁵¹ The upper left panel of the "Roman" side portrays Jupiter among the Olympians in the act of surrendering his thunderbolt to Trajan who, in the right panel, is welcomed by *Roma* and the consuls.¹⁵² Coins of 114/115 commemorate the rescue of Trajan by a superhuman figure in an earthquake at Antioch and suggest that the figure was Jupiter.¹⁵³

The epithet *Optimus* received a prominent position before *Augustus*.¹⁵⁴ It is possible that *Augustus* had become a noun already and the *Optimus* was meant to modify it; Trajan had been *Optimus Princeps* and was now *Optimus Augustus*. Some confirmation for this view may be found in the fact that after his death *Optimus*, like the rest of his titles, disappeared from his name.¹⁵⁵ But more probably *Optimus* was an epithet, or, as Pliny calls it, a *cognomen*, qualifying Trajan in the way that *Augustus* had qualified the first emperor and as *Optimus Maximus* did Jupiter.¹⁵⁶ The epithet was remembered in the phrase with which the senate acclaimed emperors in the fourth century: *felicius Augusto, melior Traiano*.¹⁵⁷ Pliny already suggests this idea in his remark: *minus est enim imperatorem et Caesarem et Augustum quam omnibus imperatoribus et Caesaribus et Augustis esse meliorem*.¹⁵⁸

After Trajan's death, *Optimus*, like Trajan's other epithets, appeared for a short time on the coinage of Hadrian. But the new emperor, probably when he reached Rome, decided that these epithets should remain peculiar to his

¹⁵⁰ For Trajan and Jupiter, see Pliny *Pan.* 8 1, 80 4, 88 8; *BMC* III lxxxii n. 2; R. Paribeni, *Optimus Princeps* II 156-157, esp. n. 19. The parallel between the good ruler and Zeus was a commonplace of Stoic political thought and appears particularly in Dio Chrysostom, see H. von Arnim, *Dio von Prusa* 419; L. François, *Essai sur Dion Chrysostome* 198. Durry, *Pan.* 217 on § 88 8, quotes Sen. *de Clem.* 1 19 9: *hoc adfectare, hoc imitari decet, Maximum ita haberi ut Optimus simul habere*, addressed to Nero. Trajan appreciated the title, see Dio LXVIII 23 2.

¹⁵¹ The inscription from Trajan's Arch at Beneventum is *CIL* IX 1558 = Dess. 296. It is dated *trib. potest. XVIII imp. VII*, that is, in 114.

¹⁵² A. von Domaszewski in *Jahresh. des öst. arch. Inst.* II (1899) 176-177 = *Abh. röm. Rel.* 29-30, summarized by E. A. Strong, *Roman Sculpture* 215-217; see also P. G. Hamberg, *Roman Imperial Art* 63-70; J. Beaujeu, *La Religion Romaine* I 431-437. A thunderbolt had also appeared on the coinage of Domitian, *BMC* II xciv-xcv, and Trajan may have been more inclined to a superhuman autocracy than Pliny wished to recognize, see Hammond *Pliny* 122 n. 2.

¹⁵³ For Trajan's rescue from an earthquake at Antioch, see Dio LXVIII 24-25, esp. § 25 5-6; for the coins, *BMC* III lxxxii. The date of the earthquake is disputed; Longden, in *JRS* XXI (1931) 2-7, placed it early in 115, but Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War* 9, 21-27, 83, follows Guey in accepting the date of Dec. 13, 115, given by Malalas.

¹⁵⁴ For the order *Optimo Aug.* on Trajan's coinage, see the index of legends in *BMC* III 617-618. Inscriptions vary in their order, see Dess. III 1 p. 274, but the best show *Optimo Aug.*, for instance Dess. 293, 295-302, 304, as do the diplomas in which *Optimus* is preserved, *CIL* XVI 60-62, suppl. 165.

¹⁵⁵ For the dropping of *Optimus* from Trajan's formula after his death, see below n. 160.

¹⁵⁶ For the parallel between Trajan and Augustus, see Paribeni *OP* II 151. Pliny, *Pan.* 88 10, draws a parallel between *Optimus* and *Augustus*.

¹⁵⁷ The famous salute to later rulers is reported by Eutropius VIII 5 3.

¹⁵⁸ Pliny *Pan.* 88 7

predecessor.¹⁵⁹ And in fact, though Trajan appears among the ancestors of his successors as *diuus Traianus Parthicus*, *Optimus* vanished.¹⁶⁰ As was remarked above, this might suggest that it was a modifier of *Augustus* but more probably the successors of Trajan, and even he himself, were more proud of his military successes than of his excellence as a ruler and chose to keep the epithet which reflected the might of the empire and the defeat of her traditional rival. The contrast with *Pius*, which Antoninus continued to bear as an ancestor, should not be pressed since Antoninus had no other more glorious military epithet and also since *Pius* did not continue in use for him immediately after his death but was reintroduced by Commodus.¹⁶¹

Although none of Trajan's successors used *Optimus* as an imperial epithet, it was sometimes employed in the established fashion as an adjective peculiarly appropriate with *princeps* or *imperator*. Examples can be cited for Hadrian, Antoninus, Marcus, Commodus, Caracalla and Alexander.¹⁶² Under Commodus, however, *optimus princeps* began to be replaced by such forms as *fortissimus*, *felicissimus*, or *sanctissimus princeps*.¹⁶³ "Constitutionality", philosophically based on Stoicism, was giving way to absolutism, based on militant religion.¹⁶⁴

Pius was voted to Antoninus by the senate and first appears after his accession on July 10, 138, and, to judge from the rarity of its appearance with *cos*.

¹⁵⁹ For early coinage of Hadrian with *Optimus*, see *BMC* III cxxiv, 236, 397-399 (all of early 117); Strack II (*Hadr.*) 3.

¹⁶⁰ For the absence of *Optimus* when Trajan occurs among the ancestors of his successors, see Dess. III 1 index III under *maiores*.

¹⁶¹ For the retention of *Pius* when Antoninus occurs among the ancestors, see below p. 47.

¹⁶² For the use of *Optimus* by Hadrian, see, besides refs. in n. 159 above, *RE* I (1) 499-500; *DE* III 614; Perret *Tit. Imp. Hadr.* 25-30. For its use by Antoninus, see Hüttl *Ant.* I 64-65 *DE* I 506; Vogt *Alex. Münzen* I 117-118. As *Caesar*, Marcus twice appears as *optimo ac piissimo*, in *CIL* VI 1009 = Dess. 2012 = Hüttl *Ant.* II p. 231 and in *CIL* XIV suppl. 1 4366 = Hüttl *Ant.* II p. 299, and once as *optimo et indulgentissimo principi* when emperor, in *CIL* XIV 4003 = Dess. 6225. For Commodus, see *DE* II 1 557. For Caracalla, see *RE* II (2) 2438; *DE* II 1 106-107; note particularly the phrases *Augustus optimus* and *optimus sanctissimus Pius Felix Augustus*, in which *optimus* apparently modifies *Augustus*, not the emperor himself. For Alexander, see *RE* II (4) 2527. In general, see Dess. III 1 index III.

¹⁶³ For the use of more forceful adjectives than *optimus* for Commodus, see *DE* II 1 557; for Septimius, see Dess. III 1 p. 286; for Caracalla, see *DE* II 1 106-107; for Elagabalus, see *DE* III 668; for Alexander, see *RE* II (4) 2527. *Sacratissimus* had been applied to the emperor at least as early as Domitian, see K. Scott, *Imperial Cult under the Flavians* 99-100 for this and similar terms. On Trajan's accession, Pliny addressed him as *imperator sanctissime*, *Ep.* X 1 1 with E. G. Hardy's n. on p. 77 of his edition of *Pliny's Letters* X. Hadrian is called *fortissimo liberalissimoque* in *CIL* VIII 2534 (from Lambaesis in Africa).

¹⁶⁴ For the emergence of "absolutist" terms for the emperor, see A. Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des mon. Zeremoniells" in *Mitt. des deutsch. Arch. Inst. röm. Abt.* XLIX (1934) 3-118. O. T. Schulz, *Vom Prinzipat zum Dominat* 254-257, contrasts earlier titles with the late second and third century preference for *dominus*. Despite the common use of *dominus* for Domitian by such authors as Martial, it only occurs for him in two inscriptions, *CIL* VI 2354 and X 444 = Dess. 3546 (quoted in n. 138 above); see *DE* II 2040-2041; Scott *Imp. Cult* 102-112, both of which also discuss the combination used by authors of *dominus et deus*. The phrase *dominus noster* seems to be rare in inscriptions until Septimius, see G. J. Murphy *Sept. Sev.* 102-103, with reference to the articles on *Dominus* in *RE* V (9) 1305-1309 and *DE* II 1952-1955.

alone, close to his designation for a second consulship.¹⁶⁵ Since imperial designations seem during the second century to have occurred late in the year, perhaps about November 1, the grant may have come in the fall of 138.¹⁶⁶ The presence of *Pius* for Antoninus on the funeral inscription of Hadrian, where Hadrian himself is not called *diuus*, might suggest that the title was voted before the deification of Hadrian and was not, therefore, a reward for Antoninus' persistence in securing this deification.¹⁶⁷ However, this inscription was erected at least six months and perhaps a year after the death of Hadrian, since Antoninus appears as *cos. II design. III*, the first of which he became only on January 1, 139, and the second perhaps as late as November.¹⁶⁸ This seems a long postponement of the deification, even considering the opposition with which it met in the senate, and the inscription may have given Hadrian the titles which he bore when he died, though erected considerably later.¹⁶⁹

The significance of the epithet *Pius* has been much discussed and does not strictly concern the constitutional position of the emperor.¹⁷⁰ Probably, the

¹⁶⁵ For *Pius*, see Hüttl *Ant.* I 54 n. 20; E. E. Bryant, *Antoninus Pius* 28; *RE* II (4) 2497-2498; *BMC* IV xxv, xl, xlviii. In *BMC* IV 3, *Pius* appears on the fourth issue of gold and silver during *tr. p. cos.*, that is, in 138. On pp. 169-170, only one *sestertius*, no. *, is given with *Pius* during this period and Mattingly regards the obverse as a later one with the reverse of 138. *Pius* becomes regular with *tr. p. cos. des. II*, that is, late in 138, see pp. 4, 170, and Strack III (*Ant.*) 2-3.

¹⁶⁶ There is little evidence to determine at what time of year designation for the consulship occurred during the second century, see Mom. I 587-588 n. 6; *DE* II 1 690 (where October is suggested).

¹⁶⁷ For the funeral inscription of Hadrian, see *CIL* VI 1 984 = Dess. 322 and compare *DE* I 501, 505, 506; *RE* II (4) 2498; H. Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit* I 628; Hüttl *Ant.* I 53. Compare also P. L. Strack's discussion of the date and significance of *Pius* in his review of MS III in *Journal of Roman Studies* XXI (1931) 145-146.

¹⁶⁸ For the consulships of Antoninus, see *BMC* IV xxxii-xxxvii (chronological table); Liebenam *Fasti* 108.

¹⁶⁹ *CIL* VI 1 99 = Dess. 333 = Hüttl *Ant.* II 230, of 138, already calls Hadrian *diuus*, and Cicotti, *DE* I 501 col. 1, regarded it as in error. Strack, II (*Hadr.*) 190-192, cites other inscriptions from 138 with *diuus* and argues that Hadrian was deified soon after the body reached Rome and that the epithet *Pius* was voted to Antoninus in consequence thereof. He discounted Dio's version as based on a pro-senatorial source hostile to Hadrian.

¹⁷⁰ T. Ulrich, *Pietas*, discusses the significance of *Pius*. See also Beaujeu *La Religion* I 87-91 for the *pietas* of Trajan and pp. 280-291 for *pietas* and the title *Pius* of Antoninus. On pp. 281-283, Beaujeu gives some republican and earlier imperial antecedents for the title *Pius*. Some usages of *pietas* under the Empire may be noted. The funeral inscription of Lucius Vitellius, colleague of Claudius in the censorship, read *pietatis immobilis erga principem*, see Suet. *Vit.* 3 1. Domitian used of the senate the phrase *a pietate uestra*, that is, their piety towards himself, see Suet. *Dom.* 11 3; compare § 10 1 and Mooney *Suetonius* notes on pp. 321, 556, 565, to these passages. Pliny, in a letter to Trajan, uses *tua pietas* of the emperor's feeling towards Nerva, see *Ep.* X 1 1 with Hardy's note in his ed. of *Pliny's Letters* X p. 77. Pliny says that under Domitian, a certain Massa, accused by Senecio and himself on behalf of Baetica of extortion, countercharged Senecio with *impietas* because the latter went beyond his brief, see *Ep.* VII 33 7. Often, though perhaps not here, *impietas* seems equivalent to *maiestas*. Legions faithful in time of revolt received the epithets *Pia Fidelis*, for instance VII and XI *Claudia*, which were in Dalmatia under Claudius at the time of the revolt of Scribonianus, see *RE* XII (23) 1249, XII (24) 1628, 1705; likewise VI *Victrix*, X *Gemina*, I *Minerua*, XXII *Primigenia*, various auxiliaries, and the *classis Germanica* at the time of the revolt of Antonius in Germany under Domitian, see S. Gsell *Essai sur . . . Domitien* 256; *RE* XII (24) 1434, 1613, 1690, 1820. In general, see Ulrich *Pietas* 91 index under *legio*, especially pp. 41-49.

epithet *Pius* was meant to cover various aspects of Antoninus' *pietas*: towards his family, towards the state, and towards the gods. He was noted for this virtue even before his accession and his devotion to the memory of Hadrian would have enhanced the appropriateness of the epithet.¹⁷¹ But whether or not the deification occasioned, if it did not motivate, the vote cannot be decided in the light of extant evidence.

During the life of Antoninus, *Pius* took its place in the formula after *Augustus*.¹⁷² On coins of Faustina the Elder occasionally, and on those of Marcus as *Caesar* and of Faustina the Younger frequently, Antoninus figures simply as *Aug. Pii* instead of *Antonini Aug. Pii*.¹⁷³ After Antoninus' death, Marcus officially omitted *Pius* and included his predecessor among the ancestors simply as *diui Antonini*.¹⁷⁴ *Pius* occurs frequently, however, for the deified Antoninus in unofficial inscriptions during the reign of Marcus.¹⁷⁵ In a diploma of 178, Marcus is still *diui Antonini fil.* but Commodus, his colleague, is *Antonini Aug. fil.*, *diui Pii nepos*, and *diui Pii* remained customary for Antoninus among the ancestors until the end of the Severan dynasty.¹⁷⁶ Thus, from the time of Commodus, *Pius*, unlike *Optimus*, became almost as regular a name for Antoninus as *Augustus* had long before become for the founder of the principate.

Furthermore, like *Augustus*, *Pius* was adopted by later emperors. Marcus did not use it, probably with the expectation that it would remain peculiar to his predecessor.¹⁷⁷ After Marcus' death, Commodus added it to the name of his father and also preserved Marcus' military epithets: *diui M. Antonini Pii Germ. Sarm. fil.*, *diui Pii nepos*.¹⁷⁸ Moreover he himself assumed the epithet.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷¹ For the *pietas* of Antoninus, see Ulrich *Pietas* 65-69; Hüttel *Ant.* I 52-58; Bryant *Ant.* 28; Beaujeu *La Religion* 282, 286-289.

¹⁷² For the place of *Pius*, see *BMC* IV 911-12, 923-24 under index V; Dess. III 1 p. 278. The diplomas show it regularly, after *Aug.* and before *pont. max.*; see *CIL* XVI p. 153.

¹⁷³ The coins are collected more conveniently in MS than in *BMC*. *Pius* occurs only on *aes* of Faustina I, usually in the combination *Antonini Aug. Pii*, see MS III 66-68, 158-161. For Marcus *Caesar*, see MS III 77-92, 171-190. For Faustina II, see MS III 92-95, 191-194.

¹⁷⁴ For the official disappearance of *Pius*, see for instance *CIL* XVI 118-123, diplomas of Marcus and Verus, with one set of ancestors for both.

¹⁷⁵ For the unofficial survival of *Pius*, see *DE* I 506 col. 1; Hüttel *Ant.* I 59; Dess. III 1 pp. 280 (Marcus' ancestors), 282 (Verus' ancestors).

¹⁷⁶ *CIL* XVI 128, where the use of *Pius* serves the practical purpose of distinguishing Antoninus from Marcus. For the later occurrence of *diui Pii* among the ancestors, see Dess. III 1 index III under the successors of Commodus; *DE* I 506 col. 1.

¹⁷⁷ Dessau gives one inscription, no. 362, in which Marcus bears *Pius* during his life, but this is an irregular and careless fragment from Germany. For *pietas* on the coins of Marcus, see Ulrich *Pietas* 72-73; *BMC* IV 962 index *s. u.*

¹⁷⁸ For Marcus' posthumous formula, see *DE* I 944, II 1 551; *BMC* IV clv, 691-693, 762-764; Ulrich *Pietas* 74. The military epithets are not invariable; for instance, the *Acts* of the Arval Brethren for Jan. 7, 183, read simply *diui M. Antonini fil.*, *diui Antonini nepoti*, etc., see Henzen *AFA* clxxxvi lines 13-14. However the first preserved diploma of Commodus, *CIL* XVI 133 dated Mar. 16, 192, gives good evidence for the official usage as quoted in the text above. Faustina II appears as *diuae Piae Faustinae* in *CIL* VI 1 1019 = Dess. 382 or as *diua Faustina Pia* in *BMC* IV 488-491, 650-656. See Ulrich *Pietas* 74.

¹⁷⁹ SHA *Com.* 8 1: *Commodus senatu semet invidente . . . appellatus est Pius*, see Ulrich *Pietas* 74-75. *Pius* does not occur for Commodus in *CIL* VIII suppl. 14791 = Dess. 6808, of 182 from

He undoubtedly realized how popular Antoninus had been and how regretfully a world exhausted by twenty years of frontier warfare looked back to that halcyon reign. Also, the souls of men were increasingly disturbed by doubts and perplexities and many must have felt that the evils of their times were due to some lack of piety towards the gods.¹⁸⁰ Commodus seems to have assumed the epithet after the detection of the conspiracy of Lucilla, when he might well have desired to bolster up his waning popularity by an appeal to his illustrious ancestry and also to create an impression that his *pietas* placed him and the state under the special protection of the gods.¹⁸¹

In Commodus' early formula, *Pius* continued to occupy the position after *Augustus* which Antoninus had assigned to it. Late in 185, Commodus added the epithet *Felix*.¹⁸² He did so in consequence, probably, of the suppression of the military revolt in Britain.¹⁸³ Soon thereafter, he advanced *Pius Felix* to a position before *Augustus*.¹⁸⁴ But at the end of his reign, when he changed his *praenomen* from Marcus back to Lucius, the coins again show *P(ius) Fel(ix)* after *Aug(ustus)*.¹⁸⁵ It is difficult to determine whether he meant *Pius Felix*

Africa, which does show *diui M. Antonini Pii Germ. Sarm. fil., diui Pii nep. etc.* *Pius* does appear for Commodus in the *Acts* of the Arval Brethren for Jan. 7, 183, not in the consular heading, Henzen *AFA* clxxxv line 1, but in the *nuncupatio uotorum*: *Imp. Caes. M. Aurelio ||||| Antonio Aug. Pio Sarmat. Germ. Maximo*, in p. clxxxvi lines 12-13, compare also the restored name in p. clxxv line 3; see *DE* II 1 551. Coins show *Pius* for Commodus in 183, see *BMC* IV clvii, clxxii, 704, 788. Vogt, *Alex. Münzen* I 147, says that *Pius* appears in Alexandria only in the second half of 183, compare p. 175. The omission of *Pius* for Commodus in the African inscription is not conclusive in view of the fact that the *Acts* of the Arval Brethren show it for Commodus, but omit it for the ancestors, for whom the African inscription gives it. The coins, however, suggest that Commodus applied it at once to his predecessors, but assumed it himself only in 183, perhaps as the *Life* suggests by vote of the senate.

¹⁸⁰ Ulrich, *Pietas* 79-82, connected the assumption of *Pius* with Commodus' greco-oriental religious policy; see *BMC* III clviii n. 1.

¹⁸¹ Mattingly, in *MS* III 358 and *BMC* clxxiii (compare cliii, clvii), following Heer *Com.* 69, connects Commodus' assumption of *Pius* with the conspiracy of Lucilla. Ulrich, *Pietas* 75, suggests an unidentified victory. *SHA Com.* 8 1 connects it with the elevation of one of his mother's adulterers, L. Tattilius Pontianus Gentianus, to the consulship, see *RE* II (4) 2475.

¹⁸² *Felix* appears in Pliny *Pan.* 2 8 of Trajan: *quod felices nos, felicem illum praedicamus*. In § 88 5, Pliny seems to refer to Sulla *Felix* and Pompey *Magnus* in contrast to Trajan *Optimus*: *an satius fuit felicem uocare . . satius magnum?*; see Durry *Pliny Pan.* 216 n. *ad loc.* For *Felix* used of Commodus, see Beaujeu *La Religion* I 395-396, where the title is presented as part of Commodus' general megalomania and self-deification. For *Pius Felix Aug.* of Commodus and succeeding emperors even down to Justin II in the sixth century, see *DE* III 44-49; *CIL* XVI p. 153.

¹⁸³ So von Rohden in *RE* II (4) 2476. He rejected coins of *tr. p. VIIII*, Dec. 10, 183/Dec. 9, 184, which show *Fel.*, Cohen III 289 no. 463, 316 no. 658; *MS* III 376 nos. 91, 98a. Mattingly, *MS* III p. 358, accepted these coins and connected them with some Sarmatian victory. But in *BMC* IV clxx-clx (compare xxv, cliii, clxxv), he accepts for *Felix* the date of 185 and a connection with the fall of Perennis, though he does not reject the coins; see his comment under the formulas on p. 712. *SHA Com.* 8 1 connects *Felix* with the fall of Perennis, a result of the British mutiny; see *DE* II 1 551. See also Vogt *Alex. Münzen* I 185.

¹⁸⁴ The coins of 185, *BMC* IV 712, 717 ff., 798 ff. 802, show either *Aug. P. Brit. Fel.* or *P. Fel. Aug. Brit.*

¹⁸⁵ Instead of *M. Comm. Ant. P. Fel. Aug.*, Commodus appears late in 191 and in 192 as *L. Ael. Aur(el). Com(m). Aug. P. F(el).*, see *BMC* IV 746, 833. However, a diploma of Mar. 16,

to be epithets or even names applied directly to himself, as he had applied *Pius* alone to his two predecessors and as *Optimus* had probably been applied to Trajan, or whether he intended them to be adjectival modifiers of *Augustus*, which by then had become a noun designating the emperor.¹⁸⁶ Towards the end his life, Commodus identified himself with *Inuictus Hercules Romanus*.¹⁸⁷

The transitory emperors of 193/196 rejected the epithets *Pius Felix*, presumably because of their association with the unpopular Commodus. The assumption of *Iustus* by Pescennius and of *Pertinax* and *Pius* by Septimius within the imperial titles has already been discussed.¹⁸⁸ In all likelihood Septimius assumed *Pertinax* in 193 as a name which would connect him with Commodus' successor, though in form it might equally be an epithet. *Pius* he may have adopted in 195 either as a hereditary name or as an epithet. His formula became *Imp. Caes. (ancestors) L. Septimius Seuerus Pius Pertinax Aug.*¹⁸⁹ This order suggests

192, *CIL* XVI 133, keeps the earlier order *P. F. A.* with the new name: *Imp. Caes. (ancestors) L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus Pius Felix Aug. Sarm. Germ. Max. Britt.*

¹⁸⁶ Comparable with the use of *Pius* as a hereditary epithet is the republican practice of inheriting such *cognomina* as *Africanus* in the Scipionic family or *Pictor* in the Fabian, see Doer *Namengebung* 50-51, 68-72. Compare also the epithet *Germanicus* among the Claudian emperors, below p. 52. For *Optimus*, see above p. 45.

¹⁸⁷ The identification of Commodus with Hercules is asserted by Dio LXXII (LXXIII) 15 2 and by SHA *Com.* 8 5: *Romanus Hercules*; see Heer *Com.* 95 ff.; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultur der Römer*² 94 n. 3; Beaujeu *La Religion* I 401-408. The only epigraphical evidence is an inscription from Trevi on the Anio reported in the 14th cent., *CIL* XIV 3449 = Dess. 400, of the end of 192: *Imp. Caes. L. Aelio Aurelio Commodo Aug. Sarmatico Germanico Maximo Britannico pacatori orbis felici inuicto Romano Herculi etc.* Dessau, III 1 p. 284 in his index, so punctuates as to make *inuictus* a separate epithet applicable to Commodus, not to *Romano Herculi*; see *DE* II 1 556 col. 2. This seems supported by the name *Inuictus* (Ἰνύκτεος) which Dio, LXXII (LXXIII) 15 3, says that Commodus gave to one of the months; see also SHA *Com.* 11 8: *pro Octobri Inuictum*; *BMC* IV clxii. The epithet *Inuictus* does not, however, occur officially until the third century, see below nn. 199-200. Mattingly thinks that the identification with Hercules is represented on coins of late 191 and 192 with the obverse legend: *L. Ael. Aurel. Comm. Aug. P. Fel.*, and the reverse: *Herculo Romano Aug.*, see *BMC* IV 751 no. †, 752-753, 842-845; compare pp. clxviii, clxvi, clxxviii, and, for medallions, clxxxii-elxxxiii; see also Ferrero in *DE* II 1 557; von Rohden in *RE* II (4) 2470. That, however, these legends refer to Hercules as distinct from Commodus might be argued from such earlier reverses as: *Marti Ultori Aug.*, *BMC* IV 834 no. *, 836 no. *; *Romae Felici*, p. 740 nos. 275-277; *Apol. Monet.*, p. 743 no. 291. Commodus, to be sure, is shown with the attributes of Hercules in a famous bust in the Conservatori Museum, see the British School *Catalogue of Sculptures in the Palazzo dei Conservatori* 139-142 no. 20 and plate 48; compare the analysis of this bust in Beaujeu *La Religion* I 406-408, who regards it as evidence for Commodus' self-deification. But earlier emperors had been represented with the attributes of various divinities, see Hammond *Hell. Inf.* 5. Trajan, for instance, was identified with Dionysus, conqueror of the world, see Vogt *Alex Münzen* I 93. He is also called by Pliny, *Pan.* 8 2, an *inuictus Imperator*, and, in § 14 2, may be likened to Hercules, see Vogt *Alex. Münzen* I 72-73; *BMC* III lxvii-lxviii; Strack I (*Trai.*) 95-104. Hercules represented for the Stoics the great benefactor of mankind, to whom they assimilated the emperor. Thus, as Beaujeu, *La Religion* I 409, says, Commodus only exaggerated an already customary tendency and did not introduce an official innovation among the titles.

¹⁸⁸ For the imperial names and titles of the transitory emperors of 193/196, see above pp. 33-34. *Iustus*, the epithet of Pescennius, appears occasionally on reverses of the coinage of Septimius in the East, see *BMC* V xxxv.

¹⁸⁹ For the imperial names and titles of Septimius, see above p. 34 and n. 97. An early example of his full formula is *CIL* VIII 9317 = Hasebroek *Sept. Sev.* no. 28, dated *tr. p.* III,

that if *Pertinax* was a name, so also was *Pius*, and not an adjective modifying *Augustus*. Despite Septimius' own assumption of *Pius* and his deification of Commodus, he dropped this epithet from the latter's name among the ancestors, though he retained it for Marcus and for Antoninus.¹⁹⁰ There was, apparently, a limit to his admiration for the last of the Antonines.

His son Caracalla, who became his colleague in 198, gradually adopted both *Pius* and *Felix* before *Augustus*, though the dates and order are uncertain.¹⁹¹ Geta, as third Augustus in 209, bore *Pius* but not *Felix*.¹⁹² Hence Caracalla may not have assumed the latter officially until after his "escape" from his brother's "plot".¹⁹³ *Pius Felix Augustus* remained the regular style for Macrinus, Elagabalus, Alexander, and their successors.¹⁹⁴ Caracalla also retained *Pius* for the deified Septimius. He himself, in turn, received it as ancestor from Elagabalus and Alexander.¹⁹⁵

Elagabalus, moreover, recognized Caracalla's admiration for Alexander the Great by awarding to him the epithet *Magnus*; the Syrian stated his fic-

or in 195. *CIL* VIII 306 = Dess. 417, also of *tr. p. III*, has *Pertinax* without *Pius*. A diploma of Feb. 1, 194, *CIL* XVI 134, also lacks *Pius*, but this epithet appears in the next preserved one *CIL* XVI 135, of the much later year 208, where it precedes *Pertinax Aug.* for Septimius and *Aug.* for Caracalla, see p. 153.

¹⁹⁰ For Septimius' ancestors, see Dess. III 1 p. 286, giving the full list as *diui M. Antonini Pii Germ. Sarm. filius, diui Commodi frater, diui (Antonini) Pii nepos*, and so on back to Nerva.

¹⁹¹ Taramelli in *DE* II 1 is not very clear in his description of Caracalla's epithets. On p. 107 col. 1, he gives *Pius* in 201 and *Felix* in 213, but on pp. 107 col. 2 – 108 col. 2, he gives *Aug. Pius* in 199, *Pius Aug.* in 201, and *Pius Felix Aug.* in 210. *Pii Felicis Aug.* appears on Apr. 1, 200, in a dedication of the *equites singulares*, *CIL* VI 1 225 = Dess. 2186; compare the praetorian "Mithraic" dedication *CIL* VI 1 738 = F. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments etc.* II 100 n. 37 = M. Durry, *Les Cohortes Prétoriennes* 340-341, restored to read *Aug. Pii [Felicis . . .]*. *Felix* does not occur in the diploma of 208, *CIL* XVI 135, which gives only *Pius Aug.*, and only rarely on inscriptions before 213, see *RE* II (4) 2437. The coins show *Pius Aug.* in 201, see *BMC* IV cxxx, 204 (not on *aes* until 202-210, see pp. 322, 329), and *Pius Fel. Aug.* briefly in 212/214, see p. cxiv with reference to Commodus *Pius Felix* in *BMC* IV clx.

¹⁹² For Geta, see *RE* II (4) 1568; *DE* III 529; Hasebroek *Sept.* 143; Dess. III 1 p. 291.

¹⁹³ *BMC* V xxxv.

¹⁹⁴ For Macrinus and his successors, see Dess. III 1 pp. 291-294; *CIL* XVI p. 153. Macrinus' coinage shows *Aug.* alone, see *BMC* V ccxvi. That of Elagabalus shows *Aug.*, *Pius Aug.*, *Pius Fel. Aug.*, or *P(ius) F(elix) Aug.*, see *BMC* V ccxxi, ccxlii-ccxlv. Alexander's coinage usually shows *Aug.* or *Pius Aug.*, see *MS* IV 2 71, but *Pius Felix Aug.* occurs on p. 88 no. 229. The inscriptions show that SHA *Macr.* 11 2 (see also §§ 7 2 and 5) is wrong to state that when the senate addressed Macrinus as *Pius Felix*, he accepted only *Felix*. For Alexander, *Pius* appears on coins of Alexandria from the beginning but at Rome only after 231, see Vogt *Alex. Münzen* I 183; *MS* IV 2 87, III.

¹⁹⁵ For *Pius* as applied to the deified Septimius, see Dess. III 1 p. 289 (two instances); *DE* II 1 106 (*Pius Pertinax*). A diploma of Caracalla, *CIL* XVI 137, shows *diui Septimi Seueri Pii Arab. Adiab. Parth. max. Brit. Max. f.*; one of Elagabalus, no. 139 (restored), and several of Alexander, nos. 140-145, suppl. 189, show simply *diui Seueri Pii nepos*. For the deified Caracalla in the ancestry of Elagabalus and Alexander as *diui (Magni) Antonini (Magni) Pii*, with *Magni*, when it occurs, in either of the two places indicated and *Pii* present when it is also used for Septimius, see Dess. III 1 pp. 292, 293-294; *DE* II 1 109; also the diplomas just cited, which give regularly *diui Antonini Magni Pii fil.* for both Elagabalus and Alexander. *Pius*, as just noted, is not invariable for the deified ancestors; for instance, *CIL* VIII 10347 = Dess. 469 (from Mauretania) gives *Pius* to Antoninus alone among the ancestors of Elagabalus.

titious parentage as *diui Antonini Magni Pii f.*¹⁹⁶ Alexander preserved this form.¹⁹⁷

Inuictus does not appear as a regular epithet for Commodus or his successors in the diplomas or on coins.¹⁹⁸ But it appears occasionally in inscriptions for Caracalla and more frequently for Elagabalus and for Alexander.¹⁹⁹ In the later third and fourth centuries, *Inuictus* became a regular epithet, especially in the superlative *inuictissimus*.²⁰⁰

These epithets, *Optimus*, *Pius*, *Felix*, and *Inuictus*, began as sincere tributes from the senate to the qualities for which they admired certain emperors. Less deserving emperors assumed them or received them from a servile senate because of the value of associating themselves with their predecessors and also in the hope that the names might magically endow them, or at least their reigns, with the good fortune, if not with the virtue, which had characterized the original

¹⁹⁶ For *Magnus* as an epithet of Caracalla after his death, see *DE* II 1 109; Dess. III 1 p. 292; *BMC* V ccxxxi. *CIL* XVI p. 153 does not list it but it appears in the diplomas of Elagabalus and Alexander listed in the last note, in the order *diui Antonini Magni*, though, as stated, other inscriptions show it before *Antoninus* or omit entirely. During his lifetime, Caracalla had appeared as *magnus imperator* in inscriptions of 213/214, see *DE* II 1 106 col. 2, but not in a diploma of Jan. 7, 216, *CIL* XVI 137 = Dess. 2007; see *RR* II (4) 2437. For his admiration for Alexander the Great, see V. Capocci, *La Constitutio Antoniana* 71; Bruhl in *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist. de l'École franç. de Rome* XLVII (1930) 214-218; A. Alföldi in *Mitt. der deutsch. arch. Inst. röm. Abt.* L(1935) 151; *BMC* V cciii-cciv, especially p. cciv n. 1; Treves *Il mito di Alessandro* 97-98 in n. 11 to ch. IV.

¹⁹⁷ For Caracalla as Alexander's "father", see for example the ancestors in *CIL* XVI 142-145.

¹⁹⁸ *Inuictus* appears only once for Commodus in an inscription, see above n. 187; *DE* II 1 556 at the bottom of the second column, citing Dio LXXII (LXXIII) 15 2 and *CIL* XIV 3449. *Inuictus* is not listed by Nesselhauf, *CIL* XVI p. 153, among the epithets of emperors in the diplomas, though Elagabalus applied it to the Sun in his formula in nos. 139, 140, 141 (?): *sacerdos amplissimus dei Inuicti Solis Elagabali. Aurei* of Geta, coined c. 200/202, call him on their reverses *Seueri Inuicti Aug. Pii fil.*, see *BMC* V 199 nos. 244-245. The article on *Inuictus* in *DE* IV 1 79-80 does not collect the material in the way that it is presented by that on *Felix* in III 44-49, but simply lists the divinities and emperors for whom it occurs and concludes that it appeared only late, under the Severi.

¹⁹⁹ *DE* II 1 106-107 gives no references for Caracalla *Inuictus* but simply puts his assumption of the epithet in 211, see *CIL* III 3472 = Dess. 2320 (from Hungary, no date): *Pii Inuicti Aug. CIL* III 4784 = Dess. 4835 (from Germany, no date): *Pii Felicis Inuicti*; *CIL* X 6854 = Dess. 5822 (from Italy, dated 216): *Inuictus Pius Felix Aug.*; *CIL* III 207 = Dess. 5865a (from Syria, no date): *Inuictus Imp.*, *CIL* VI 671 = Dess. 3543 (from Rome, no date); *domn. inuicti*. For Elagabalus *Inuictus*, see *DE* III 668 and *CIL* VIII 4440 and suppl. 18587 = Dess. 5793 (from Numidia, no year date): [*Imp. Caes. M. Aurelio Inuicto Pio Felice Aug. amplissimo [sacerdote dei Inuicti Solis Elagabali . . .]*, which seems certainly (see Dess. n. 1) to refer to Elagabalus (and was so restored by Henzen) despite the simple form of the name, *M. Aurelio*. See also an inscription cited in *RE*2 VIII (15) 399 from *Österr. Jahresh.* XXIX (1935) 265-268 (from Noricum): [*Imp. Caes. M. Aurel. [Antoninus Pius Felix] [In]uictus Aug. cos. III p. p. [sacerdos amplissimus et] [M. Aurel. Alexander C[ae]sar*, early in 221. For Alexander *Inuictus*, see *RE* II (4) 2527; Dess. III 1 p. 293, where two inscriptions are cited for *Inuictus Pius Felix Aug.* and one for [*Pius Felix Inuictus Aug.*] and one for *dominus n. Inuictus Imp. M. Aur. Alexander Aug.*

²⁰⁰ For emperors of the third and fourth century, Dess. III 1 pp. 294 ff. gives both orders: *Inuictus Pius Felix Aug.* or *Pius Felix Inuictus Aug.* In the examples of later usage (without references) in *DE* III 48-49, the intrusion of words like *Victor* and *Triumphator* and especially of the adverb *semper* with *Aug.* suggests that the epithets *Pius Felix Inuictus* were thought of as epithets of the emperor himself and not as modifiers of *Aug.*

bearers of the epithets. But the epithets also expressed the desires of the times. *Augustus* had embodied a real feeling that the achievements of Octavian had raised him above the level of ordinary mortals. *Optimus* reflects the Stoic ideals of the upper classes of the turn of the century and the rapprochement between the senate, embodying the traditions of the republican *optimates*, and the emperor. The mid second century witnessed a revival, or rather a renovation, of religious feeling which found its expression in emphasis on the concept of *pietas*, whether or not this was the simple old Roman virtue or had become tinged with mystical connotations. The troubles of the reigns of Marcus and Commodus led men to hope that good fortune and success would rest with the Roman armies; that the emperor would be *Felix* and *Inuictus*.

The importance attached to these epithets, not merely because of their associations with the past but also for their possible magical benefits, appears in the exalted position which they received in the imperial formula from the time of Commodus. Before that, they had been simple epithets, characterizing their bearer. Commodus, however, joined them closely to his personal name, within the imperial titles of *Imp. Caes. . . . Aug.* In part, probably, he was influenced by the fact that *Augustus* itself had developed from an epithet into a name for the first ruler and a title for his successors. In part, he may have regarded *Pius* as a name which he had inherited from Marcus and Antoninus. But he undoubtedly also wanted to make it absolutely clear that he, whether in his own person or as *Augustus*, was *Pius Felix Inuictus*. By the time of Elagabalus, these epithets were attached to the emperor himself, to judge from an acclamation of the Arval Brethren when they undertook *vota annua et decennialia* on his behalf on July 14, 219: *Feli[cis]s(ime)! Saepe de nostr(is) ann(is) augeat tibi [I]up[iter annos! Sis p]ius et felix M(arce) A(ntonine) Im(perator) C(aesar) Aug(uste)! Di te seru(ent)! etc.*²⁰¹

The epithets of victory demand less attention. They regularly followed either directly after Augustus or after the epithets just discussed, *Optimus*, *Pius*, *Felix*, when these followed Augustus. For Trajan, Marcus, and the Severi they are often retained after death, when these emperors are mentioned among the ancestors. The only epithet of victory which merits individual comment is *Germanicus*. This had had popular associations with the son of Drusus the Elder and was regularly borne by the Claudian emperors Gaius, Claudius, and Nero as a hereditary agnomen.²⁰² Vitellius adopted it with the novel connotation not that he had defeated Germans but that he had been elevated by the

²⁰¹ For the acclamation of the Arval Brethren to Elagabalus, see Henzen AFA ccvii lines 36-37, cited in *RE* 2 VIII (15) 395.

²⁰² For *Germanicus* as an epithet in general, see *RE* VII (13) 1251-1257 *s. u.* For its use under the Julio-Claudians, see *BMC* I lxxix; Dess. III 1 264-267. It is noteworthy that despite his "conquest" of Britain, Claudius did not himself assume the epithet *Britannicus*, though his son did so, *DE* II 1 295-296, 302. In this he may have imitated his father Drusus the Elder, for whom *Germanicus* appears only as a posthumous honor, voted by the senate, see *RE* III (6) 2705 towards bottom (the inscriptions listed in Dess. III 1 p. 261 all seem to be posthumous), though his son bore it regularly as a personal name, see *RE* X (19) 435; Dess. III 1 p. 262.

German legions; he appears as *A. Vitellius Germ. imp. Aug.*²⁰³ Domitian revived the epithet to commemorate his defeat of the Chatti in 83, and thereafter, when it was assumed, as it was by Nerva at the end of 97, it had its proper connotation of victory over the Germans.²⁰⁴ Pliny comments on the fact that Trajan received it from Rome, that is, presumably, from the senate and not from the armies, so that probably under "constitutional" rulers it derived from a vote of the senate, not from salutation by the armies.²⁰⁵ The same must have been true of similar epithets referring to victories over others of Rome's enemies, which begin to multiply from the reign of Trajan onwards.²⁰⁶ *Dacicus*, *Parthicus*, *Medicus*, *Armeniacus*, *Sarmaticus*, *Arabicus*, or *Adiabenicus* reflect not only the widening scope of Rome's warfare and the advent of new enemies, but also the tendency to split up larger ethnic groups into smaller components in order to enhance the emperor's glory.

Verus first added *Maximus* to an epithet of victory; in his case as *Parthicus Maximus*, which he assumed in 165. Since Marcus remained simply *Parthicus* in a diploma of 167, the *Maximus* may have been inserted to compensate for Verus' lack of the office of *pontifex maximus*.²⁰⁷ But on coins of 166, Marcus also is *Parthicus Maximus* without *p. m.* so that either the diploma may be in error or the *maximus* with *pontifex* in Marcus' normal formula was meant to do double duty.²⁰⁸ In any case, on the death of Verus in 169, Marcus dropped the epithets of victory shared with him, namely *Armeniacus*, *Medicus*, and *Parthicus* (*Maximus?*), and the first five salutations.²⁰⁹ After the death

²⁰³ For Vitellius *Germanicus*, see above p. 25, especially nn. 24, 25; *RE* VIII (13) 1252.

²⁰⁴ For Domitian *Germanicus*, see *DE* II 3 2039-2040; *RE* VI (12) 2550, 2556, 2559; *RE* VII (13) 1252; *CAH* XI 24 n. 1. It does not appear until 83, see *BMC* II xx, lxxxv, xc. Domitian probably did not mean to suggest any connection with the Julio-Claudian *Germanici*. Nerva shows the epithet on some inscriptions, see Dess. III 1 273, and on the coinage from the end of Oct. to the end of Dec. in 97, see *BMC* III xxxiv; *RE* VII (13) 1253.

²⁰⁵ For Trajan *Germanicus*, see Pliny *Pan.* 9 2-3. It is hard to tell whether in this passage he is contrasting Trajan with Vitellius (who used the epithet wrongly) or (as is more probable) with Domitian (who used it in Pliny's eyes without justification); in *RE* VII (13) 1252, Trajan's use is attributed to his adoption by Nerva, from whom he would then inherit it.

²⁰⁶ For other epithets of victory, see *BMC* III xxvi, IV xxiv-xxv, V xxxiv-xxxv. Nesselhauf in *CIL* XVI pp. 153-154 does not discuss the epithets of victory.

²⁰⁷ For Verus' use of *Maximus*, see *RE* III (6) 1840 (dates), 1848. *Parth. Max.* appears for Verus with *tr. p. V imp. III*, that is, before Dec. 10, 165, see *BMC* IV 437, 588. For the diploma of 167, see *CIL* XVI 123 and p. 153; Mom. II 2 1108 n. 1. Compare the equalization of the consulships of Verus with those of Marcus; Marcus, *cos III* on his accession on Mar. 7, 161, did not hold the office again while Verus, who had been *cos. II* with Marcus *III* at the opening of 161, became *cos III* in 167 with M. Ummidius Quadratus, see *BMC* IV cii-civ (table); Liebenam *Fasti* 108.

²⁰⁸ Marcus assumed *imp. III* in *tr. p. XIX*, before Dec. 10, 165, see *BMC* IV 435, 584, but *Parth. Max.* only in *tr. p. XX*. after Dec. 10, 165, see pp. 440 ff., 592 ff. von Rohden, *RE* I (2) 2295, connected the assumption of *Parth. Max.* with the triumph celebrated by the two emperors on Aug. 23, 166, as indicated by *CIL* VI 1 360 = Dess. 366, which shows for both *Armeniacy Parthici Maximi Medici* in a dedication of Aug. 22, 166, for the safe delivery of a daughter by Lucilla, wife of Verus and daughter of Marcus; see *PIR*² I 127 A no. 707.

²⁰⁹ According to SHA *Marc.* 12 9, Marcus kept only his own epithet *Germanicus*. During *tr. p. XXIII*, 169, *Parth. Max.* is dropped from the obverse and *imp. V*. from the reverse of the coins of Marcus, see *BMC* IV 454, 607.

of Marcus, *Maximus* begins to appear frequently with the epithets of victory in the inscriptions of Commodus but not on his coinage.²¹⁰ Under Septimius and his successors, *Maximus* appears separately with the epithet or epithets of victory and with *pontifex maximus* and it is repeated with more than one such epithet. This indicates that it applied only to that epithet which it immediately followed.²¹¹ When *Maximus* was first introduced with epithets of victory, it was probably meant to set Verus' Parthian victory above that of Trajan and also to compensate him for the lack of the office of *pontifex maximus*. With the passage of time, the desire to flatter the reigning emperor caused the distinction to be extended to every victory.

It is the lengthening series of epithets, both honorific and victorious, which accounts in a large degree for the longer and more cumbersome character of the imperial formula during the second century as compared with what it had been in the Julio-Claudian period. This tendency reflects both the servility of the senate and the increasing exaltation of the imperial position.

²¹⁰ For Commodus' use of *Maximus*, see *DE* II 1 555; Dess. III 1 p. 284. He did not use *Maximus* during the life of Marcus, who did not himself use it after Verus' death. For the coinage of Commodus as sole emperor after 181, see *BMC* IV 689 ff., 759 ff. The use of *Germ. Sarm.* is regular on the coinage of Marcus and Commodus in 175-177, see *BMC* IV 475-500, 641-672, but then ceases. Commodus shows *Brit.* from 184 until his change of formula late in 191, see pp. 710-746, 798-832. Since a diploma of 192, *CIL* XVI 133, still shows *Sarm. Germ. Max. Britt.*, the epithets of victory were probably not dropped by Commodus but simply omitted on the coinage to save space.

²¹¹ For the occurrence of *Maximus* under Septimius, see M. Platnauer, *The Life and Reign of the Emperor L. Sept. Severus* 96 n. 1; *RE* II (4) 1961-1962. *Maximus* appears separately with the epithets of victory and with *pontifex*, for instance in *CIL* XVI 135 (of 208): *Arab. Adiab. Parthic. Max. pontif. max.*; compare Dess. III 1 p. 286. Thus by 208 it certainly did not in official use appear singly to do double duty with the military epithet and *pontifex*. An inscription of Septimius from Rome of 202/204, *CIL* VI 1 1074 = Dess. 456, does, however, read *pontificis et Parthici Maximi*, where the *Maximi* apparently goes with both. For Caracalla, *CIL* XVI 135 (of 208) preserves no epithets, but no. 137 (of 216) affords *Parth. Max. Britt. Max. Germ. Max. pontif. max.*; compare no. 138 and *CIL* VIII 4197 = Dess. 450 (of 212). *Parth. Max.* had been assumed by Septimius with *imp. XI* in the fall of 198, see Platnauer *Sept.* 117; Hasebroek *Sept.* 159; *BMC* V cxxxvii. *Parth. Max.* is given for Caracalla in 200 by *DE* II 1 107; in 199 by *RE* II (4) 2441 on the basis of *CIL* VIII 884. *RE* also cites for 200 two coins in Cohen IV 163 nos. 181, 182, which may now be found in *BMC* V 295 nos. 715-717. These were minted in the east (? at Laodicea, p. 276). The reverse legend reads *p. max. tr. p. III*. Though *p. max.* might conceivably stand for *Parth. Max.*, the whole legend is exactly parallel to that on the coins of Septimius of the same year, where *Parth. Max.* appears on the obverse and the reverse reads *p. max. tr. p. VIII cos. II p. p.*, see *BMC* V 294 nos. 712-714. The eastern die-cutter probably extended the supreme pontificate by mistake to Caracalla, see Mattingly on p. clxvi. Caracalla became *Parth. Max. Britt. Max.* in 210 with Septimius, see *RE* II (4) 2437; *DE* II 1 108; Dess. III 1 p. 289. He became *Germ. Max.* in 213, see Henzen *AFA* cxvii = Dess. 451, where he is *Germanice max(ime)* in the acclamations of the Arval Brethren on May 18-20, though the victory was not celebrated until Oct. 6, see *RE* II (4) 2437, 2447. Caracalla shows *Brit.* with Septimius and Geta on the coinage late in 210, see *BMC* V clxxviii-clxxix, clxxxiii-clxxxiv. He substitutes *Germ.* for *Brit.* on his coinage in 214, see pp. cxiv-cxcv, ccii, ccx. Precise dating of the formulas of the Severi is made more difficult by the fact that Septimius ceased to put his salutations on his coinage after 200, see *BMC* V cxxix-cxx, 175, 202, 285, 294, 297, 317. And Caracalla shows none until 213, after the death of Septimius and the murder of Geta, when he shows *imp. II* (not *imp. III*), see *BMC* V cxci, cxiv n. 1, cci n. 2.

(3) ANCESTORS.

In the imperial formula of the second century, the list of ancestors is usually, and officially, placed after *Imperator Caesar* and before the personal names.²¹² The position after *Caesar* represents, probably, a survival of the practice of Augustus and Tiberius. Augustus had used *Caesar* as his second name, the republican gentile *nomen*, so that, in the traditional fashion, his filiation came between it and his *cognomen*, *Augustus*, which for him replaced the republican family *cognomen*. *Imperator Caesar diui filius Augustus* follows exactly the form of *Marcus Tullius Marci filius Cicero*.²¹³ With equal consistency, Claudius and Nero placed the filiation after their gentile *nomen* of *Claudius*, and before *Caesar Augustus* both of which were in their case *cognomina*: *Tiberius Claudius Drusi f. Caesar Aug. Germanicus* and *Nero Claudius diui Claudii filius Germanici Caesaris nepos Ti. Caesaris Aug. pronepos diui Aug. abnepos Caesar Aug. Germanicus*.²¹⁴

Vespasian, who returned to the brief Augustan style in his formula, had no imperial ancestors to whom he was related by blood or adoption, and therefore inserted none. Since *Caesar* became again for him and his family a *nomen*, Titus placed his filiation between it and his family *cognomen* both as heir and as emperor: (*Imp.*) *Titus Caesar diui (Vespasiani) f. Vespasianus (Aug.)*.²¹⁵ Similarly, Domitian, omitting the personal *praenomen*, has (*Imp.*) *Caesar diui (Aug.) Vespasiani f. Domitianus (Aug.)*.²¹⁶

Nerva, like Vespasian, placed no imperial ancestors in his formula, so that it is impossible to determine whether or not he would have regarded *Nerua*

²¹² The most convenient summary of the ancestors in the formulas of the Roman emperors is the entry *maiores* under each in Dess. III 1 index III; see also *CIL* XVI p. 153 and the articles on those emperors for which *DE* affords them.

²¹³ For the position of filiation in the Roman name under the republic, see J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*² I 8-9; Dör Röm. *Namengebung* 56-59. For *diui f.* in the formula of Augustus, see Hammond *AP* 108 with reference to *RE* Suppl. VI 826 under "Herrscherkult"; von Premerstein *Vom Wesen* 249; L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* 130-131; Mom. II 2 756 n. 1.

²¹⁴ For the ancestors in the formulas of Claudius and Nero, see Dess. III 1 pp. 265, 267. For Claudius, see *DE* II 1 295; *RE* III (6) 2782. For Nero, Hohl, in *RE* Suppl. II 391, does not give the formula and *DE* has not yet reached him. Claudius does not show the ancestors in his diplomas, *CIL* XVI 1, 3, but Nero does in no. 4. Gaius exceptionally places his ancestors, whom he carried back to Augustus and even to Julius, between *Gaius Caesar Germanicus* and *Aug.*, as in *CIL* II 4716 = Dess. 193, or between the full *Gaius Caesar Aug. Germanicus* and the republican offices, as in *CIL* III 14147 1 = Dess. 8899; see *DE* II 1 36. Whether the lengthy ancestry used by Gaius and Nero as against the simplicity of that of Claudius reflects their desire to emphasize the hereditary and monarchical character of their rule or simply the recognition of a legal claim by blood or adoption which Claudius lacked is uncertain. Tiberius sometimes carries his ancestry back through Augustus to Julius, see Dess. III 1 p. 262.

²¹⁵ For Titus' ancestors, see Dess. III 1 pp. 270-271. Titus' diploma of Sept. 8, 79, *CIL* XVI 24, omits *diui Vesp. f.* but that of June 30, 80, no. 26, shows the full formula given in the text. For the place of *Caesar* in Titus' formula, see above p. 27.

²¹⁶ For Domitian's filiation, see Dess. III 1 p. 272; *CIL* XVI 27-29, suppl. 158-159; *DE* II 2 2030.

as a gentile name; probably his formula would have run: *Imp. Nerua* (ancestors) *Caesar Augustus*, in the Claudian style. When Trajan established *Imperator Caesar* as introductory imperial titles, he was probably copying the Flavian formulas. Consistently, he placed *diui Neruae filius* between these titles and his personal names, both of which were family *cognomina*, the one adoptive, the other his own: *Imp. Caes. diui Neruae f. Nerua Traianus Aug.*²¹⁷

This position after *Imperator Caesar* remained official for the ancestors in the imperial formula during the second century. From the middle of the century however, they are often also placed after the personal names and *Augustus* or even quite at the end, after the offices.²¹⁸ In the diplomas, the ancestors come after *Imp. Caes.* from the time of Domitian, with two exceptions. In those of Marcus and Verus, one set, placed after the names and offices of Verus, does service for both emperors. And in those of Marcus and Commodus, though each has his own set, those of Commodus come between *Augustus* and the offices, a position which perhaps indicates a certain subordination to his father.²¹⁹

When L. Ceionius Commodus was adopted by Hadrian he took the name *L. Aelius Caesar*. Instead, however, of placing the ancestors in the republican position, between *Aelius* and *Caesar*, he placed them after *Caesar* and before his republican offices.²²⁰ He thus preserved their position relative to *Caesar* as an imperial title and no longer looked upon this last as a *cognomen*.²²¹ Heirs during the following reigns bore combinations of the imperial titles, ranging from simple *Caesar* at the end of the name to the full *Imp. Caesar . . . Aug.* In cases of full collegiality, the ancestors show the same variation of position for the junior heir as for the senior father.²²² In cases of subordination, inscrip-

²¹⁷ For Trajan's filiation with Nerva, see Dess. III 1 p. 274; *CIL* XVI 42-64, suppl. 160-164.

²¹⁸ Dessau, III 1 p. 276, gives only one instance of the ancestors occurring after *Augustus* for Hadrian and, p. 278, none for Antoninus. *DE* I 499-505 and Hüttl *Ant* I 50 ff. do not discuss the position of the ancestors of Antoninus. It would be interesting to know whether, if they had come after *Aug.* in his formula, they would have come between it and *Pius* or after this also. For Hadrian's ancestors in diplomas, see *CIL* XVI 66-84, suppl. 169, 173, 174; for those of Antoninus, see nos. 87-117, suppl. 175-184.

²¹⁹ The diplomas with ancestors of Marcus and Verus are *CIL* XVI 121-124, suppl. 185-186; of Marcus and Commodus, no. 128. The only diploma datable under Marcus as sole emperor, no. 127, survives only in its end. In no. 135, Septimius and Caracalla both have the ancestors after *Imp. Caes.*; so also do Elagabalus and Alexander in the much restored nos. 140, 141, and Alexander in the well-preserved suppl. 189. The diploma of Septimius and Caracalla, no. 135, shows the curious feature that whereas the whole formula of Septimius runs in continuous lines, that of Caracalla is broken into two paragraphs, *Imp. Caes.* and the ancestors in one and *M. Aurellius Antoninus Pius Aug. etc.* beginning a second. This might suggest that the initial *Imp. Caes.* was conceived of as belonging to *L. Septimi Severi etc. f.* and not to *M. Aurellius etc.*, were it not that the diplomas of Caracalla as emperor preserved the division even after Septimius had become *diuus*, which meant that *Imp. Caes.*, was dropped from the latter's formula, see *CIL* XVI 137-138.

²²⁰ The ancestors of Aelius follow *Caesar* in all the inscriptions given by Dessau: nos. 319 (*fil. alone*), 328, 329, 5963 (*imp., imp. fil., cos.*); see *DE* III 639 and compare on Gaius above n. 214.

²²¹ For Aelius' use of *Caesar*, see above pp. 29-30 and n. 62.

²²² When Commodus was colleague of Marcus, he placed his ancestors between *Aug.* and the offices, above n. 219. When Caracalla was colleague of Septimius, he placed them after *Imp. Caes.*,

tions have the ancestors either after *Caesar*, following the precedent of Aelius, or at the end, after the offices.²²³ The subordinate heirs do not figure in the diplomas, but the coins show that they followed the practice of Aelius in placing at least their father's name after *Caesar*, running over under the Severi onto the reverse.²²⁴

The position which the ancestors occupied was under the Flavians still in the republican manner after the gentile *nomen*, which happened to be *Caesar*. But Trajan respected the connection with *Caesar* rather than tradition and thereafter the practice for both emperors and heirs was different from that followed by ordinary persons. Private individuals placed their filiation in the usual way after the gentile *nomen*, though naturally the lengthening of names beyond the traditional three and the frequent change of name through adoption, made the order less simple than it had been under the republic.²²⁵ Furthermore, while ordinary persons generally mention only their fathers, the emperors preserved among their ancestors all those predecessors from whom the power had descended continuously in virtue of succession by blood or by adoption or even in virtue of fictitious relationship. The long period of peace meant that Commodus had five ancestors, Septimius six, since he included his fictitious "brother" Commodus, and Caracalla also six, since he omitted Commodus but included Septimius.²²⁶ Elagabalus and Alexander, probably because the list had grown unwieldy and the memory of the earlier emperors had become dim, carried the

in Dess. 422, 424, 449; *CIL* XVI 135, or after *Aug.*, in Dess. 2156, or after the republican offices, in Dess. 448, 2157. Alexander as colleague of Elagabalus placed them after *Imp. Caes.*, in Dess. 475, 9058; *CIL* XVI 140. The last two inscriptions show *nob. Caes.* after the name, not *Aug.*, see above p. 38.

²²³ Antoninus under Hadrian, with *Imp.* alone before his name, placed the ancestors between *Caesar Antoninus* and the republican offices, in Dess. 331, 8909. Marcus as *Caesar* placed them ancestors between *Caesar* and the offices, in Dess. 355, 356, or after the offices, in Dess. 353, 354. In the *s. c. de Cyzicenis*, Bruns 207 no. 62 = *FIRA* I^a 293 no. 48 = Dess. 7190 lines 5-7, the old republican form appears: *M. Aelius imp. Titi Aeli* | [*Hadriani An*]tonini f. *Pap. Aurelius Ve*[rus etc.]. It is interesting that Verus, though not a Caesar, has the ancestors after his name, in Dess. 357, 6899 (neither with any offices), as well as in the name, as in no. 358: *L. Aelio Aurelio Aug. f. Commodo cos.* For Commodus as *Caesar* the ancestors come between *Caes. Germanico* and the offices in no. 389. For Caracalla as *Caesar* they appear between *Caes.* and the offices, in no. 445; or after *Caes. Imp. dest.* in no. 446. Clearly the more correct place was that used by Aelius, after *Caesar* and before the offices, see above n. 220.

²²⁴ For *Aurelius Caesar Aug. Pii f.* or the like, see *BMC* IV 913-14 (index); for (*L. Aurel.*) *Commodo Caes. Aug. f.*, see pp. 914-915, 927. For *Seueri Aug. Pii. fil.* on the reverse of coins of Caracalla, see *BMC* V 50-51, 150-151. For the same on coins of Geta, see pp. 181, 303, 316, 340. The order *Seueri Pii Aug. fil.* occurs on other contemporary reverses of Caracalla, see p. 187 no. 172, p. 317 no. +.

²²⁵ Pliny the Younger appears in the famous inscription from Como, *CIL* V 5262 = Dess. 2927 = Schuster's ed. p. 466, as *C. Plinius L. f. Ouf. Caecilius* [*Secundus*]; see also *CIL* V 5263, 5667 = Schuster's ed. pp. 467, 468. He was the son of Caecilius, Hammond *Pliny* 117 n. 1, but was adopted by his uncle C. Plinius Secundus. For filiation at the end of the names of private persons, see *CIL* X 7346 = Dess. 1083 (from Sicily); VIII supp. 12291 = Dess. 1085 (from Africa); X 1123, 1122, 1124 = Dess. 1086-1088 (from Salerno); etc.

²²⁶ For the ancestors in the formulas of the Severi, see Dess. III 1 284, 286, 289. Naturally the full list back to Nerva does not always appear. Macrinus does not show any ancestors, see above n. 113.

line back only to Septimius in their diplomas, although some inscriptions of Elagabalus still show the whole series back to Nerva.²²⁷ Alexander dropped his unpopular "father" Elagabalus after the latter's death.

No dynasty after Alexander during the third century lasted long enough to establish a list of ancestors beyond a father and among the military, anti-senatorial emperors of that period the repute of the Antonine name ceased.²²⁸ Thus the custom of placing the ancestors in the imperial formula gradually died out.²²⁹

The importance of the ancestors, apart from the perpetuation in an enlarged form of an old Roman custom, lay naturally in the legitimation of the reigning emperor by an appeal to a dynastic succession. The hereditary element, tacitly recognized by Augustus, had become explicit under his successors because of its weight in securing the allegiance of the civilian population and especially of the troops. The *diui*, the deified emperors, were included among the gods by whom oaths were confirmed and their statues were placed in temples and in the headquarters of the camps.²³⁰ Descent from them heightened the divine character of the living emperor who, though not officially a god, was elevated in various ways to a superhuman status. Undoubtedly, too, the connection of an emperor with such popular figures as Trajan, Antoninus, and Marcus, apart from any religious implications, exercised a strong appeal on popular imagination. But it is noteworthy that apart from the two fictitious adoptions, of Septimius as the son of Marcus and of Elagabalus as the son of Caracalla, new dynasties did not claim filiation with their predecessors. This respect for the real family significance of filiation, whether established by blood or by adoption, is a further indication that the use by new dynasties of the Augustan formula *Imperator Caesar . . . Augustus* meant that this had come to signify the position of ruler and no longer primarily showed family descent.

²²⁷ For a shortened list of ancestors in the formulas of Elagabalus and Alexander, see Dess. III 1 292-294. For Elagabalus, see *CIL* XVI 139; VIII 10347 = Dess. 469, cited in *RE* 2 VIII (15) 394; *DE* III 661 col. 1. During the lifetime of Elagabalus, Alexander appears as his son, grandson of Caracalla, and great-grandson of Septimius. Elagabalus' name was dropped after his death, and Alexander appears as son of Caracalla and grandson of Septimius like his predecessor; contrast *CIL* XVI 140-141 (restored) with 142-145 suppl. 189; and see *DE* I 398.

²²⁸ For the popularity of the Antonine name among the senatorial class as evidenced by references in the SHA, see the passages listed above in n. 123 from Renan *Marcus* 487, especially SHA *Macr.* 2 5-3 9, *Alex.* 6 11.

²²⁹ The entries under the emperors of the third century in Dess. III 1 index III show that the ancestors gradually dropped out of the formula.

²³⁰ For the place of the *diui* in official worship, see G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*² 342-348; von Premerstein *Vom Wesen* 85-89. A. Alföldi's two articles on court ceremonial and on the imperial costume and regalia in *Mitt. des deutsch. arch. Inst. röm. Abt.* XLIX (1934) 3-118 and L (1935) 3-171 show that there was an increasing elevation of the emperor to superhuman status. Further study on this aspect of the trend towards absolutism has been pursued by H. P. L'Orange and others.

CONCLUSION.

The formula of the Roman emperors during the first two hundred and fifty years of the empire maintains to a remarkable degree an outward loyalty to the precedent set by Augustus. The republican elements remain the same except for the addition of *proconsul*. The imperial part, as this paper has shown, grew in length and complexity but never lost its Roman and Augustan character. Only at the very end, when Elagabalus applied the epithet *Magnus* to Caracalla, probably on the model of Alexander the Great rather than of Pompey, and himself took the religious title *sacerdos amplissimi Solis*, did elements of a non-Roman and eastern color appear. The autocratic terms *dominus et deus* by which poets addressed Domitian never became established officially, and even in unofficial use *dominus* begins to occur frequently only under the Severi.

Yet this traditionalism did not prevent the imperial part of the formula from assuming an openly monarchical significance. In this respect, the development of the formula well illustrates the whole change in the nature of the imperial position from the Augustan principate to the Antonine monarchy. Augustus had so successfully compromised between republicanism and monarchism that scholars will always argue about his intentions. If he was sincere in his claim to have "restored the Republic", then his name *Imperator Caesar divi filius Augustus* follows exactly the pattern of the Roman name and only adds, in a fashion adumbrated by the leaders of the later republic, a heightened tone suitable to a *princeps* of outstanding merit who had rendered preëminent service to the state. If Augustus meant to veil behind a republican facade a hereditary monarchy, then he hinted at this by instituting a new *gens* of *Caesares*, divorced from the traditional *Iulii* and characterized by the quality of victorious command as implied in making the soldiers' salutation of *imperator* into a *praenomen*, by descent not from a human father but from a heroized *divus*, and by an overriding *auctoritas* whose superhuman validity was suggested when the religious epithet *Augustus* became a family *cognomen*.

Whichever of these two aims was Augustus', the second, despite Tiberius' hesitancy, was developed by the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Thus after the revolution of 68, the successful claimant of the imperial position could incorporate himself artificially into that dynasty by using the name of its founder as a frame into which to put his own name as a personal differentiation. In this way, *Imperator Caesar . . . Augustus* became the hereditary title of the successive rulers. Later family names like *Antoninus* and *Seuerus* became in their turn hereditary but were never so much so as either to become part of or to displace the Augustan terms.

A subsidiary development was that of *Caesar* alone from a gentile *nomen* into a title, placed after the personal names, for the recognized heir to the power. This was clearly true for Lucius Aelius and may have been so for Ha-

drian and even for Trajan during the brief and now poorly attested periods in which they were heirs-apparent.

The bestowal on emperors of honorific epithets of civil or military meaning may in origin have been patterned on the grant of *Augustus* to the first *princeps*. Certainly *Germanicus* for Domitian, *Optimus* for Trajan, and initially *Pius* for Antoninus were used by each alone, and only in his lifetime. Similarly the military epithets were restricted to those who bore them and, though they survived for their bearer among the ancestors, they were not inherited. However, from the reign of Commodus, there was felt an increasing need to emphasize the devout and fortunate quality of the ruler. Hence *Pius* and *Felix* became regular elements of the imperial part of the formula, attached closely to *Augustus* either as adjectives modifying this title or, like it, as added titles of the emperor.

Finally, under the Antonines and early Severi, emphasis was laid on the continuing and hereditary character of the imperial position by the lengthening list of ancestors. But successive dynasties, though they took *Imperator Caesar . . . Augustus* as a "style" indicative of rule, generally respected the tradition that filiation should represent real descent, either by blood or by adoption.

All four elements of the imperial part of the formula: the personal names, the titles of position, the epithets, and the ancestors, therefore lost their individual quality and became trappings of power. The imperial part of the formula, though outwardly traditional and even republican, became in fact a monarchical "style", suited to a ruler whose superhuman wisdom and fortitude guided and protected the empire.

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- TLL: Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.*
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COSA: BLACK-GLAZE POTTERY

BY

DORIS MAE TAYLOR

COSA: BLACK GLAZE POTTERY

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The photographs of pieces are reproduced in full scale; the profiles and drawings in the text and plates are four-fifths actual size.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAA: Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology.

AJA: American Journal of Archaeology.

Albenga: Nino Lamboglia, "La nave romana di Albenga," *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 18 (1952) 131-236.

Ampurias: Martín Almagro, *Las Necrópolis de Ampurias I* (Barcelona 1953).

Antioch: Antioch-on-the Orontes

I, The Excavations of 1932, edited by G. W. Elderkin, (Princeton 1934).

IV, pt. I, Frederick O. Waagé, *Ceramics and Islamic Coins* (Princeton 1948).

Ardea: Louise Adams Holland (Mrs. L. B. Holland), "Vases from Ardea in Pennsylvania Museum,"

Bollettino dell'Associazione Internazionale degli Studi Mediterranei IV 4-5 (1933-34).

Athens: Homer A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3 (1934) 311-480.

BMCRep: H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (London 1910).

BollStM: Bollettino dell'Associazione Internazionale degli Studi Mediterranei.

BullComm: Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma.

Ceramica Campana: Nino Lamboglia, "Per una classificazione preliminare della ceramica campana," estratto dagli *Atti del 1° Congresso Internazionale di Studi Liguri* (1950) (Bordighera 1952).

CRR: E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London 1952).

CVA: Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.

CVH: J. Cabré Aguiló, *Corpus Vasorum Hispanorum - Ceramica de Azaila* (Madrid 1944).

Dura: The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report IV pt. I fasc. 1: Dorothy Hannah Cox, *The Greek and Roman Pottery* (New Haven 1949).

EVP: Sir John D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford 1947).

GazArch: Gazette archéologique.

Holwerda: J. H. Holwerda, *Het Laat-Grieksche en Romeinsche Gebruiks aardewerk uit het Middellandsche-Zee-Gebied in het Rijkmuseum van ouheden te Leiden* (Leiden 1936).

JDAI: Jahrbuch des k. deutschen archäologischen Instituts.

JRS: Journal of Roman Studies.

MAAR: Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome.

MemNap: Società R. di Napoli, Memorie della R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti.

Minturnae: Agnes Kirsopp Lake (Mrs. W. C. Michels), "Campana Supellex: the Pottery Deposit at Minturnae," *BollStM* 5 nos. 4-5 (1934-35).

MonAnt: Monumenti Antichi.

NS: Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.

NumChron: Numismatic Chronicle.

Rome: Inez Scott Ryberg (Mrs. M. E. Ryberg), *An Archaeological Record of Rome from the Seventh to the Second Century B. C., Studies and Documents*, edited by Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, 13 pt. 1 (London 1940).

RSLig: Rivista di Studi Liguri.

Samaria: G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, D. G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908-1910, I* (Harvard 1924).

StEtr: Studi Etruschi.

Tarsus: Excavations at Gözlü-Kule, Tarsus, I, chap. VI: Frances Follin Jones, "The Pottery," (Princeton 1952).

Ventimiglia: Nino Lamboglia, *Gli scavi di Albintimilium e la cronologia della ceramica romana* (Bordighera 1950).

"C" followed by a letter and a number refers to the catalogue of the objects excavated at Cosa.

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This project was started in 1948 when, as a Fellow of the American Academy in Rome, I was a member of the staff of the excavations at Cosa. A fellowship from the American Association of University Women in 1952-53 gave me an opportunity to continue it.¹

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DORIS M. TAYLOR

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INTRODUCTION

This study describes the black-glaze pottery in use at Cosa¹ over a period of approximately two hundred years, from the last part of the third century B. C. to 40-30 B. C., when the production of black-glaze pottery ended, and defines it in terms of its fabric,² form, source, and distribution. The excavations have produced five deposits which represent this span of years. These five have been arranged in sequence, analysed, and interpreted in a method which parallels that used by Thompson in his study of Hellenistic pottery of Athens.³ This study, like the Athenian one, consists of catalogues of pottery in a series of dated deposits followed by a description of certain fabrics in those deposits.

Deposit A is relatively large. Part of it, small bowls and perhaps a few other pieces, was used for a ritual ceremony on the sacred area beneath the Capitolium. The remainder, which probably had no ceremonial significance, gives a representative picture of the pottery of the late third century and the first half of the second. Deposits B and C are not large but they overlap chronologically and supplement each other. The two combined give a sampling of the pottery in use at the middle of the second century. Deposits D and E, the debris of households and/or shops, are large and varied in content. Each is probably characteristic of its period: Deposit D of the late second and early first centuries, Deposit E of part of the first century.

In 1950 in the excavation of part of Deposit D three types of black-glaze pottery, each distinguished by a peculiar fabric, were identified.⁴ In 1951 these types were recognized in Deposits A, B, and E and identified with Types A, B, and C found in the excavations at Ventimiglia.⁵ In 1950 Lamboglia had published a preliminary classification of these three types which identified sixty-three forms of the fourth, third, second and first centuries, described the forms of each of the three types, and suggested a location for the workshop (or workshops) of each type.⁶ In general the evidence of the deposits of Cosa gives

¹ Frank E. Brown, "Cosa I: History and Topography", *MAAR* 20 (1951) 1-113.

² In this study "fabric" means clay and glaze.

³ Homer A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery", *Hesperia* 3 (1934) 311-476.

⁴ The identification was made by Dr. Lucy T. Shoe and Professor Frank E. Brown.

⁵ Nino Lamboglia, *Gli scavi di Albintimilium e la cronologia della ceramica romana*, parte prima, campagne di scavo 1938-1940 (Bordighera 1950). Lamboglia identified Types A-G. He has informed me that he believes that Types D-G, which do not have parallels in the pottery found at Cosa, are local. Lamboglia has published a revised chronology for the stratification at Albintimilium in "La ceramica iberica negli strati di *Albintimilium* e nel territorio ligure e tirrenico" *RS Lig* 20 (1954) 83-125.

⁶ Nino Lamboglia, "Per una classificazione preliminare della ceramica campana" *Atti del 1° Congresso Internazionale di Studi Liguri* (1950) 139-206. This study was also published separately by the Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri (Bordighera 1952). The chronology of this classification was based upon the evidence of the excavations at Ventimiglia, at three sites in southern France (Entremont, Ensérune, and Saint-Blaise), at two sites in the eastern part of Spain (Valencia and Bastida), and at Alcudia on the island of Maiorca. Lamboglia's conclusions with regard to the location of the workshop of each type and the distribution of the pottery are

support to Lamboglia's classification of the three types and their forms for the late second and first centuries but it offers no evidence for several of the forms of his classification, especially for a group assigned to the fourth and third centuries. Cosa, however, presents new forms and fabrics and gives evidence for more exact dating. One new fabric has several forms which were not included in Lamboglia's classification. To avoid confusion between the classification of types found at Ventimiglia and those found at Cosa, the types of Cosa are identified by Roman numerals. Types I, II, and III correspond to Types A, B, and C, respectively, of Lamboglia's classification; Type IV is a new fabric.

Types:

The clay of Type I varies in color from a pink-buff to a red-brown, orange, orange-red, and red-brown predominating. It is coarse, often granular and usually hard in texture.⁷ The glaze varies from a firm black to a thin metallic black or brown.

The clay of Type II varies less in color and texture than that of Type I. Except in three or four pieces it is pink-buff or buff. It is usually hard, compact, and finely levigated, with a smoothly finished surface. The glaze is black, blue-black, or, more rarely, blue, and generally firm, but thin on carelessly finished pieces. It frequently has a high sheen and is rarely metallic. Glaze was not applied inside the feet of most of the forms in Type II.

The clay of Type III is grey; the glaze is black or grey-black. Variations in color of clay or glaze are rare and probably attributable to accidents of firing. On the other hand, variations in texture of clay (hard to soft) and quality of glaze (firm to thin) suggest that several workshops produced grey fabrics but, unfortunately, the fragments found at Cosa do not give positive evidence for a differentiation of the shops. The type is relatively rare (few forms can be identified in full) and the fragments which have been found are in very poor condition. The soft clay of many pieces has worn away so that the original form of the vessel has been obliterated and the glaze on some has almost disappeared. Although Cosa does not provide criteria for definite subdivision, I have, as a temporary measure, subdivided Type III on the basis of the variations in the texture of the clay, hoping that this may be useful in identifying workshops, and have suggested possible bases for subdivision.

based upon the evidence of the pottery from these excavations and additional examples in museums of Italy, France, and Spain. Almagro, in his publication of the necropolis of Ampurias in Spain (*Las Necrópolis de Ampurias*, Barcelona 1953), has used Lamboglia's classification, identified four new forms, that is, forms 64-68, and given new evidence for dating the forms. (I am not able to account for the numbering of the new forms of this publication. On page 395 they are summarized as forms 64, 65, 67 and 68. On page 215, where form 68 first occurs, it is called form 66. In the introduction to the group of tombs in which form 68 first occurs it is also referred to as form 66. Elsewhere in the publication pieces of the same form are identified as form 68).

⁷ In this study "texture" refers to degree of hardness of the clay.

The clay of Type IV shows great variation in color, from a pink or pink-orange to buff. It is usually hard in texture, full of impurities, and frequently coarse and granular. It is often not well mixed and fired unevenly. A single piece may vary from orange to pink or buff. The clay has a rough surface, that is, the potter did not take the trouble to smooth the turning ridges. Since the glaze frequently wears off along the ridges the rough surface becomes more conspicuous than it was originally and furnishes a good clue to the identification.

The glaze of Type IV is black, dull or metallic, firm on the best pieces and thin on the poorest. It sometimes has a high sheen. The potter did not glaze the pots with any more care than he turned them. The glaze has worn off the poorest pieces. Almost all the bases are mottled and stacking rings are common.

Two groups of forms occur in the fabric of Type IV: one peculiar to it, the other composed of poor copies of the forms of Type II. Copies of the forms of Type I or Type III are rare. The quality of the clay and glaze usually differentiates Type IV from Type II, although the color of the clay is sometimes a guide to identification since Type IV is frequently pink or orange, whereas Type II is predominantly buff. While no evidence for the local production of black-glaze pottery has been found in Cosa, it seems likely that Type IV was made in or very near the town.⁸ It is poor in quality and varies in workmanship. Fragments of pots which were damaged in the workshops and the closed forms that would have been difficult to transport must indicate local production. Some of the forms peculiar to the type disappear when Types I, II, and III and copies of Type II become more common, that is, Type IV supplied the market with its own forms until other types were imported in quantity, then gave way to the competition and produced only poor copies of Type II.

The identification of Type IV in the catalogues is probably conservative, since a poor fabric such as Type IV has greater variations in clay and glaze than a good one. Variations due to poor workmanship or the effort to copy new importations must have caused differences in the local pottery. It is not surprising that the bowls of Type IV in Deposit A, for example, are very different in form and quality of glaze from the imitations of Type II in Deposits D and E.

Catalogues:

The catalogue of each of the five deposits is introduced by a description of its place of finding and the evidence, internal and external, for dating the deposit. Coins⁹ and stamped amphorae, supplemented by a comparative analysis of lamps and pottery, have given most of the chronological limits. The

⁸ A mold for a decorated relief bowl (CB 1567a and b) shows that there was local pottery production.

⁹ The coins have been dated by the chronology given by E. A. Sydenham in *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London 1952).

fact that Cosa was founded in 273 B. C. gives a *terminus post quem* for Deposits A and B. In the introduction to these two deposits the evidence of dated pottery of other sites has been used to show that most of the pottery of Deposit A dates in the late third century or later, that Deposit B has a *terminus post quem* later than that of Deposit A.

Each catalogue is arranged on the basis of form: plates, saucers, and other open forms followed by pitchers, jugs, and other closed forms. The basis for distinction between plate and saucer or plate and shallow bowl may, at times, seem arbitrary but in a deposit composed of very fragmentary pieces it is sometimes impossible to recognize the full form. It is difficult, for example, to distinguish a fragment of the rim of a plate with upturned rim from that of a bowl with incurved rim. Variations of a form are listed separately or as subdivisions of one listing. The method followed depends upon the complexity of the form and its variations. The aim has been clarity of description for each deposit rather than consistency throughout the five. Deposit A, for example, which is more heterogeneous in fabrics and forms than the other deposits, has more listings and fewer subdivisions than Deposit D, a much larger group of pottery. "Unique" means that the example is the only one of that form in the five deposits.

In the catalogues the clay and glaze of every piece, or group of pieces of the same fabric and form, are described, and examples in the fabrics of Types I, II, III, and IV are identified by type. Other pieces, some of which may belong to Type IV, are not identified by fabric but listed and described individually. This practice may seem to magnify the importance of the unidentified material since in quantity it is smaller (except in Deposit A) than the material listed under the four main types. Thirty plates of Type II, for example, may be included under one number, while a single sherd of an unidentified fabric has its own listing.

Conclusions:

The description of fabrics and forms in the conclusions will, however, help to eliminate this "distortion". In this description Types I, II, III, and IV are considered in detail, with a general description of each of the types preceding the discussion of its individual forms. At the end of this section of the conclusions a few other fabrics represented by more than one form receive brief descriptions. The final section of the conclusions interprets the evidence of the five deposits for the ceramic industry and trade of Cosa and the Mediterranean World.

Bibliography:

The bibliography for comparative material does not pretend to be exhaustive. Excavation reports have received more attention than museum collec-

tions of pottery of unknown proveniences, and reports from sites in the Western Mediterranean more than those from excavations in the Eastern Mediterranean. In order to avoid a cumbersome bibliography I have taken advantage of three comparatively recent publications which are rich in bibliographical material. Reference to classifications and lists of examples in Sir John Beazley's *Etruscan Vase Painting* has eliminated a great number of bibliographical entries. Lamboglia's bibliography in his study, *Per una classificazione preliminare della ceramica campana*, has been used to show the proveniences of examples of the forms and types.¹⁰ For parallels in form in the Eastern Mediterranean I have occasionally cited the excellent bibliography given by Frances Follin Jones in the publication of the pottery from Tarsus.¹¹

By cross-references I have attempted to eliminate monotonous repetition of bibliography. The bibliography for parallels for a form occurs at the first entry of this form in the catalogues and reference to this bibliography is given at each subsequent appearance of the form in the catalogues. The bibliography in the catalogues indicates the proveniences of other examples of the form and the dating of comparable forms found at other sites. The bibliography in the description of the types in the conclusions gives Lamboglia's dating and distribution of the forms and Almagro's dating of them.

¹⁰ I have seen many of the examples that he has cited and agree with almost all his identifications of the forms of Types A, B, and C in use in the second and first centuries.

¹¹ *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus I* (Princeton 1952).

DEPOSITS

DEPOSIT A: INTRODUCTION

In 1948 and 1949, the first two seasons of excavations at Cosa, the Capitolium on the Arx was cleared to bedrock in the areas of the three cellae and parts of the pronaos. Protrusions of bedrock beneath the Capitolium had caused great variation in the depth of the fill. Cuttings in the rock and a layer of carbonized material around a cleft in it indicated that an area beneath the cellae had been marked off as a sacred area sometime prior to the construction of the temple. The fill, however, showed no evidence of stratification.

The pottery which can be identified definitely as belonging to this fill is limited because the fill had been disturbed by burials which had been placed beneath the floors of the Capitolium and by excavations made sometime after Cosa was abandoned. The *cella Minerva* and the *cella Iunonis* each measured 11.60 m. \times 5.05 m.; the central cella, 11.60 m. \times 6.40 m. The *cella Minervae* (Cella 1) had been gouged with pits in two corners, NE and NW, by previous excavations and in a third corner, SW, the floor was broken by burials of a later period. The fill varied in depth from about three meters on the west side to a meter and a half on the east side. In the central cella (Cella 2) a large pit had been made by some previous excavation. The fill was about a meter in depth. The *cella Iunonis* (Cella 3) had the best preserved fill. It varied in depth from about a half meter on the west side to a meter and a half on the east side but was very shallow (ca. 0.17 m.) near the center.

The fill around a large cistern in the southwest half of the pronaos had been disturbed by the collapse of the cistern's roof so that only a relatively small section immediately in front of the front wall of the cellae was original fill for the building. This was a narrow L-shaped area, seven and a half meters in length on the west arm, six and a half meters in length on the north arm. It varied in depth from about a half-meter in the west arm to about two and a half meters in the northwest corner.

Excavations around column bases in the pronaos cut into undisturbed fill. The areas excavated were irregular in shape and not large. None of them extended to bedrock.

To the pottery of the fill under the temple floors can be added a small quantity found at the east end of the isolating trench along the south side of the temple and forecourt. This small deposit (Level IV of the trench) was in a level of red earth packed with spalls from the working of blocks for the retaining wall of the forecourt above. It must be contemporary with some of the pottery of the temple fill and has, therefore, been included in Deposit A. In this study the term "Capitolium Fill" will be used synonymously with Deposit A and will include the pottery from Level IV of the isolating trench.

It is difficult to determine the interval of years which the pottery of Deposit A represents. The sure *terminus ante quem* is the date of the construction of the Capitolium, a date for which coins and a stamped amphora handle furnish evidence. In the stone foundation under the southeast corner of the retaining wall of the forecourt, with the debris of construction, was found a bronze coin, an "uncial" *as* (CC 110), dated by Sydenham in the interval ca. 155-133 B. C.¹ In the construction level of the trench along the south side of the forecourt appeared a stamped Rhodian amphora handle (CC 788) for which a date in the second quarter of the second century has been suggested.² A *quadrans* (CA 519) which was lying on the signinum pavement of the *cella Iunonis* amid the debris of a later mosaic floor and probably dropped under it is assigned to the interval ca. 155-150 B. C. This evidence suggests a date near the middle of the second century for the construction of the Capitolium.

The *terminus post quem* for Deposit A must be determined by a study of the material found in it. The lamps and black-glaze pottery differ greatly from those of the other four deposits in fabrics and forms. Two types of lamps, both wheel-made, were found in the Capitolium Fill.³ Both types are duplicated in Deposit C; examples of the commoner type are found in Deposits B, D, and even E. No molded lamps are found in Deposit A. They appear in all the other deposits and in great quantity in Deposits D and E. The pottery can be divided into three groups: forms of imported fabrics, primarily Types I and II, small bowls with incurved rim in a limited number of fabrics, a variety of other forms in a number of fabrics. The pottery of Types I and II, since it is very fragmentary, must have been brought to the Arx from elsewhere as part of the levelling process preparatory to the construction of the floors of the Capitolium. The relative rarity of these types in Deposits B and C shows that they were not imported in quantity by the middle of the second century. The period of greatest importation is represented by Deposit D, that is, 130-120-70-60 B. C. The pieces in Deposit A, therefore, must be among the latest in that deposit.

¹ *CRR* no. 302. Sydenham assigns this "uncial" issue to the interval ca. 155-133 B.C., the period in which the "uncial" standard was officially recognized. In a note on this series (ser. 11) he has written (*op. cit.* 33): "Exact dating of the 'uncial' bronze is impossible. Coins assigned to this period are generally below rather than above the normal weight."

² On this stamp, a rectangular stamp of Zenodotus, Dr. Virginia Grace has written in a personal communication "on the basis of present information, second quarter of the second century is probably a reasonable guess. The type is uncommon and it has not been found in contexts which establish its date independently. The date is suggested partly by the relatively large size of the stamp; earlier Rhodian stamps are mostly smaller in proportion to the handle. . . More satisfactory evidence for dating this type before about 150 would be helpful. However, the fact that it is so rare - only about fourteen examples known to me at present - may explain the lack of any example as yet on file for Corinth or Carthage."

³ The wheel-made lamps found at Cosa can not be typed by the classification established by O. Broneer in *Corinth IV ii: Terracotta Lamps* (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1930). A classification of the lamps of Cosa based upon the examples found in the excavation of the Atrium Publicum is being prepared for publication by Dr. Eric Baade.

The second group is composed of many small bowls with incurved rim, approximately 130 of them, a few of which are almost complete. They must be remains of a ritual ceremony which was held on the sacred area before the Capitolium was constructed. Their uniformity in proportions and shape indicates that they were all produced within a short period of time. Within the group there is some evidence of degeneration of form, glaze, and stamped decoration. The bowls become more angular in bodies and feet and thinner in sidewalls. The glazes vary from a firm black to a metallic grey-black. The bowls with better glazes have central stamps (rosette or star) or three or four scattered ones (rosettes or palmettes); those with inferior glazes are unstamped or decorated with scattered stamps (rosettes or palmettes or \cup -shaped stamps). A few of these bowls have the fabric of Type I; one may be Type III. The form, however, is not common in later deposits. Similar bowls occur in Deposits B and C; the example in Deposit D is almost rimless. The evidence of these later deposits shows that the form had disappeared by 130-120 B. C., perhaps earlier. The bowls of Deposit A are comparable in form to a bowl found in a burial at Ampurias which was dated in the second half of the third century, to seven others in six burials dated to the transition of the III-II centuries or the first half of the second. (See *infra* 85 **A 21**.)⁴ Bowls in Group D of Thompson's study of the Athenian Agora are similar to the Cosa examples. This group has been assigned to the middle of the second century. Bowls from the Minturnae deposit, assigned to the middle of the third century, and from the Carsoli one, predominantly third century, are more curved and thicker-walled than the Cosa bowls. The simplicity of the stamp patterns on the Cosa bowls and the absence of any stamp on many of them suggest that the group represents almost the end of the use of stamps on bowls of this form. In comparison with the stamps of the Carsoli deposit, the Cosa stamps show less variety and care in workmanship. A smaller version of the bowl **A 25** is similar in form to a bowl found in Cosa in the fill beneath the floor of the colonnade on the northwest side of the Forum. This fill was probably made before ca. 167 B. C. (See the introductions to Deposits B and C.) All this evidence suggests that the bowls with incurved rim in Deposit A should be assigned to the last half of the third century or the first half of the second, probably the latter.

The third group of pottery in Deposit A, a variety of forms in a number of fabrics, is very fragmentary. Most of it, like the pieces of Types I, II, and III, must also have been in the fill brought from another part of the town in preparation for the construction of the floors of the Capitolium. Some of the fragments must have been used for the ritual ceremony on the site, e.g., a jug, **A 38**, with a dedicatory inscription. Some of the pieces of this third group are carefully turned and glazed. Many of the fabrics and forms do not

⁴ The bibliography for the parallels cited in this introduction is given in the catalogue of the deposit.

appear in later deposits. Several forms with handles, which are rare in other deposits, occur in Deposit A. Some of the pieces have decorative devices, such as painting or ribbing, which are not represented in the other deposits. This group of pottery is more difficult to date. **A 38**, and possibly **A 1**, are "pocola", a group which Ryberg judged to be probably a little earlier than the middle of the third century; Beazley thinks this date is not too early. Bianchi-Bandinelli dated the "pocola" group 270-230 B. C. **A 1**, if it belongs to this group, would be a very late example of it. A parallel for the form of "fish plate" (**A 2**), was found at Tarsus in the bottom level of the Hellenistic-Roman Unit. This unit has been dated from approximately the mid-second century to the mid-first century. A date in the second half of the fourth century has been suggested for **A 4**, which must be the oldest fragment in the deposit. **A 13**, a saucer, has a parallel in form from Tarsus in a context dated ca. second quarter of the second century. Earlier versions of cups **A 27** and **A 28** were found in the Minturnae deposit. An example similar to **A 27** was found in La Tomba della Pellegrina at Chiusi, a tomb which Levi dated earlier than the second century, and in the Carsoli deposit.

With the exception of the plate **A 4**, all the black glaze pottery of Deposit A could probably be assigned to the interval ca. 225 to ca. 150 B. C. A *terminus post quem* in the late third century would account for the differences between Deposit A of Cosa and the deposits from Minturnae, a deposit assigned to the middle of the third century, and from Carsoli, a site which accumulated in the last decades of the fourth century, the third century and the first quarter of the second century. This *terminus* would explain also the similarities between Deposit A and the Carsoli deposit.

To account for the differences between the pottery of Deposit A and that of Deposits B and C, it is necessary to assume that most of the pottery of Deposit A antedates ca. 167 B. C., the *terminus post quem* for Deposit C and a large part of Deposit B.

DEPOSIT A: CATALOGUE

A 1 Plate (or bowl) with high flaring rim. Pl. I. Pl. XXI.

Clay buff, medium. Surface finished roughly. Glaze blue-black with sheen. Floor slightly concave. Remains of decoration in superposed color: on rim a single ivy leaf in thin white paint, on floor remains of paint show head, shoulders, and part of bodies of two adjacent figures and part of head of a third. Scene enclosed in two concentric circles, also in the paint. Neither composition of scene nor colors of paint clear. Unique.

D. of floor, 0.20 m. D. of rim, 0.22 m. H. of rim, 0.03 m. Six fragments, three joining.

This plate seems to be another member, a late one, of Beazley's Volcani Group of "pocola" (*EVP* 210-215). The style of the figures indicates that the plate should be assigned to the end of this decorative technique, the application of color over the glaze. This is a western Mediterranean version of the "Six Technique" of the archaic Greek vases (Six, "Vases polychromes sur fond noir" *GazArch* 13 (1888) 193-210, 281-294. See also *Tarsus* 158). It should be compared with a cylix from Ostia (*NS* (1950) 93 fig. 2b, and 96).

with two central figures and a border of ivy leaves alternating with circles. Parallels cited for this cylix relate it to the Sokra Group (*EVP* 201-204). The composition of the figures on the floor supports this attribution; however, the ivy leaf border is similar to that of the Volcani Group. The border of the Ostia cylix is like that on a cup from Tarquinia (*EVP* 210 no. 6; R. Bianchi-Bandinelli "Un 'pocolom' anepigrafe del Museo di Tarquinia," *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara* (Città del Vaticano 1937) 11-20; *MonAnt* 36 (1937) 488 fig. 31.) The ivy and circle pattern might be compared, also, with that on the well-known "Elephant plate" from Capena (*EVP* 211 and pl. 39, 1). The distribution of the Sokra Group is wide. Chiusi, Todi, and Volterra account for a large proportion of the examples. A cup from Vulci (*EVP* 202 no. 6; *JDAI* 43 (1928) 356 fig. 30), the provenience nearest to Cosa, is not a parallel for the Cosa fragments. For the "pocola" Bianchi-Bandinelli (*op. cit.* 18) and Ryberg (*Rome* 139 f.) suggested Rome as the center. Beazley (*EVP* 210) believes they were probably made in Latium. Bianchi-Bandinelli (*loc. cit.*) dated the group to the interval 270-230 B.C. The Cosa plate may be even later than the group dated by him. The Cosa example, like the Ostia cylix, seems to have elements of the Sokra Group and the Volcani Group, the composition of an Etruscan group combined with elements of "Gnathian" decoration used on a group from Latium.

A 2 "Fish Plate". Pl. XXI.

Clay buff, hard, finer than A 1. Glaze blue-black with sheen, granular, mottled red near base. Groove on top at angle of rim. Depressed floor. Foot has angular exterior, oblique interior. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.19 m. D. of foot, 0.06 m. Four non-joining fragments.

Ampurias fig. 343 no. 6 (base only); *Ceramica Campana* 172 form 23, examples from Ensérune, from Ampurias and other areas of Catalonia, from La Bastida del Mogente; *Holwerda* no. 155 pl. 1 from Volterra; *Minturnae* type 42 pls. 5 and 7; P. Mingazzini, *CVA Italy* fasc. 11 (Museo Campano) pl. 5 no. 4 and pl. 6 no. 10; F. Mouret *CVA France* fasc. 6 pl. 22 nos. 45-46; *Tarsus* 212 fig. 178 C; *Antioch IV pt.* 1, 7, 10, 11 no. 10 pl. 1; *Samaria* 297 8 2a fig. 174 no. 31 and 2b fig. 174 no. 32. For bibliography of other examples from the eastern Mediterranean area see *Tarsus* 212 note 7. The Ampurias example is assigned to the end of the third century and the beginning of the second. Lamboglia (*Ceramica Campana loc. cit.*) thinks that the use of the form does not extend far into the second century. The Tarsus example, which is the closest parallel in form for the Cosa plate, was found in the bottom level of the Hellenistic Roman Unit, dated from "ca. mid-second century to ca. mid-first century."

A 3 Plate with downturned rim. Pl. XXI.

Clay hard buff. Glaze thin brown-black on upper surface only, mottled orange on edges. Unique. Similar in fabric to A 20, perhaps from the same workshop.

D. of rim, 0.13 m. Two joining fragments of rim.

A 4 Plate with downturned rim. Pl. I. Pl. XXI.

Clay buff, peels easily. Glaze black thinning to orange on upper surface; traces of orange-brown on area underneath rim. Glaze applied in wave pattern on upper surface. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.14 m.

EVP 10, 175-177, "The Genuclia Group" pl. 38, 17-27; *Rome* 101 f. Dr. Mario Del Chiaro has kindly contributed the following information on the Genuclia Group: "My researches have shown two centers of manufacture for the Genuclia Group: Caere and Falerii. The Caeretan Group produced plates during the second half of the fourth century (c. 350-300 B.C.); the Faliscan Group during the first half of the third century. It overlaps the Caeretan Group slightly. It is highly probable that the Cosa fragment belongs to

the Caeretan Group for there are a number of proveniences for it along the Tyrrhenian coast, e.g., Caere, Tarquinia, Talamone, Populonia and Genoa." Dr. Del Chiaro tells me that other examples of this group have been found at or near Carthage, Cumae, Anzio, Palestrina, Grottaferrata, Carsoli, Veii, Todi, and Volterra, that the Faliscan Group has been found at or near Ardea, Capena, Rignano Flaminio, Fabbbrica di Roma, Falerii, Corchiano, Poggio Sommavilla and Vignanello.

A 5 Plate with downturned rim. Pl. XXI.

Clay unique in its hardness and rose-grey color. Glaze hard blue-black, metallic. Rim turns downward more sharply than **A 3** or **A 4**. After a border 0.028 m. in width, wall drops sharply to form shallow bowl. A variety of fruit plate. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.13 m.

A 6 Plate with horizontal offset rim. Pl. XXI.

Type II. Clay pink-buff, hard. Glaze firm blue-black.

D. of rim, 0.30 m. Two non-joining fragments of one; fragment of second.

Similar form: **B 7** and **26**, **C 1** and **22**, **D 1**, **E 1**.

Similar fabric: **B 26**, **D 1b**, **E 1b**.

See *infra* 154 for description of form in Type II.

Black glaze: *Ampurias* fig. 162 no. 2; *Albenga* fig. 26, example from the sea near Albenga, and fig. 74, examples from the sea near Genoa (Pegli); *Ceramica Campana* 147 form 6 Type B, examples from Ventimiglia, one from the museum of Alba, one from the Museo Nazionale of Syracuse, 158 form 6 Type C, example from the Museo Nazionale of Syracuse, examples from Tindari, 169 form 6 Type A, examples from Ventimiglia, Entremont, and Saint-Rémy; *Ventimiglia* fig. 34 nos. 2-3, fig. 35 no. 25, fig. 47 no. 5; F. Mouret, *CVA France* fasc. 6 pl. 23 nos. 3, 4, 6 and 7, all from Ensérune. *Tarsus* 231 no. 252, example in the bottom level of the Hellenistic-Roman Unit, dated "ca. mid-second century to ca. mid-first century"; *Antioch IV*, pt. 1, 12 no. 27; *Athens D 1* figs. 55 and 116, *E 22-26* fig. 83. Group D is dated middle of the second century; Group E to the turn of the second and the first century and the early years of the first. Other examples: two from Falerii Veteres (Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia in Rome), several from Castiglioncello (Museo Archeologico in Castiglioncello), examples from Tuscania (some in the Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, others in the Museo Archeologico in Florence), several examples from Tarquinia (Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese), example from Volterra (Museo Guarnacci, camera 9), example in Arezzo (Museo Archeologico Mecenate no. 1307), several examples from Paestum (Museo Nazionale di Paestum), examples from Granada (Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid, sala II, case 18, no. 52).

Red glaze: *Tarsus* nos. 252 and 253 fig. 188 "Hellenistic-Pergamene"; *Antioch IV*, pt. 1, 24 no. 137; unpublished examples: Athenian Agora, P 4247 and P 11850, "Hellenistic-Pergamene."

Form in impasto: G. Matteucig, *Poggio Buco: the Necropolis of Statonia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1951), pl. v no. 13; F. N. Pryce, *CVA Great Britain* fasc. 10 pl. 5 no. 16, from Falerii; J. D. Beazley and F. Magi, *La Raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco* (Città del Vaticano 1939) pl. 45 and fig. 38.

A 7 Plate with upturned rim. Pl. XXI.

Type II. Clay pink-buff. Glaze firm black.

D. of rim, 0.18-0.26 m. Fragments of three.

Similar form: **B 9**, **23** and **24**, **C 4** and **25**, **D 5** and **6**, **E 5**;

Similar fabric: **B 23a** (or copy), **C 4b** and **25**, **D 5b** and **6b**, **E 5b I** and **II**.

See *infra* 156 for description of form in Type II.

Black glaze: *RS Lig* 21 (1955) 274 and 277 fig. 5, examples, Types I and II, from Vado Ligure; *RS Lig* 20 (1954) 121 fig. 45, three examples from Castiglioncello; *Ampurias* fig. 260

no. 3; *Albenga* figs. 25 and 27, both from the sea near Albenga; *Ceramica Campana* 146 form 5 Type B, example from Rome, from Ensérune, from Ventimiglia, 148 form 7 Type B, example from S. Miguel de Sorba, 158 form 5 Type C, example from Tindari, from the Museo di Cavaillon, from Ventimiglia, 159 form 7 Type C, examples from Ventimiglia, Syracuse, and Tindari, example from the Museo di Cavaillon; *NS* (1951) 270 fig. 8A, 271, 272 fig. 9D, 275, all from Syracuse; *Ventimiglia* fig. 23 no. 5, fig. 24 no. 8, fig. 27 no. 20, fig. 34 nos. 4-7, fig. 35 nos. 28-30, fig. 43 nos. 2-3, fig. 48 nos. 5, 10-12, fig. 51, nos 4-5, fig. 52 nos. 6, 7 and 15, fig. 55 nos. 2, 9, 15, and 16, fig. 58 no. 2, fig. 97 no. 5, fig. 110 nos. 3-4; *CVH* pl. 59 nos. 3-8, 14, 16, 20 and 24; *Holwerda* no. 234 pl. 2, from Volterra; F. Mouret, *CVA* France fasc. 6 pl. 22 no. 42; other examples: one, Type III, from Castiglioncello (Museo Archeologico in Castiglioncello), one, Type II, from Volterra (Museo Guarnacci, *camera* 9), two, Types I and III, from Malta (museum in Città Vecchia in Malta), one, Type I, in Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid (case 19), other examples, Type II, from Archena (same museum, no. 33957), from Galera (same museum, *sala* II, case 18), from Azaila (same museum, *sala* II, case 40).

Red glaze: "*Hellenistic-Pergamene*": *Dura* 7-8 nos. 39 and 41; *Tarsus* 231 fig. 188: A; *Antioch I* 71 no. 10 pl. 15; *Antioch IV*, pt. I, 23 nos. 120-121: *Athens* E 151 and 152 figs. 110 and 116; F. O. Waagé, "The Roman and Byzantine Pottery" *Hesperia* 2 (1933) pl. 8 shape 45; unpublished examples: Athenian Agora, P 7952, P 8019, P 11230, P 14963. The Tarsus example was found in the top level of the Middle Hellenistic Unit, dated third century, beginning of second. Group E from Athens is dated to the turn of the second and the first century and the early years of the first.

A 8 Base of large plate. Pl. XXI.

Type I. Clay coarse red-brown. Glaze firm blue-black, slightly metallic, carelessly applied around base. Stacking ring on floor. Foot is heavy, slightly rounded on exterior, slightly oblique on interior.

D. of foot, 0.08 m. Two examples. Two joining fragments of part of foot and wall of each.

A 9 Base of plate (or bowl). Pl. I. Pl. XXI.

Type IV. Clay orange-buff, hard. Glaze thin blue-black mottled red near base. Stacking ring. Thin walls and foot. Foot has oblique sides and narrow resting surface. On floor four rows of rouletting encircle a stamped pattern consisting of a central palmette surrounded by four stamps, alternating palmettes and stylized tree (?).

D. of foot, 0.04 m.

Similar form and arrangement of stamps: **C 26e**; similar form: **C 26h**. See *infra* 173 for a discussion of this base.

Identical stamps: W. Van Ingen, *CVA* USA fasc. 3 pl. 32 no. 16 and pl. 34 no. 1. Form of this example similar to **A 21**. Example said to be from Chiusi.

A 10 Base of plate (or bowl). Pl. I. Pl. XXII.

Clay buff, hard. Glaze thin green-black. Foot high with slightly profiled exterior. On floor a design of three rows of rouletting encircling a central rosette.

D. of foot, 0.05 m.

F. Mouret, *CVA* France fasc. 6 pl. 27 no. 6, similar stamp, no. 8, degenerate form of stamp, both from Ensérune. For other rosette stamps see **A 21b**.

A 11 Base of plate (or bowl). Pl. XXII.

Clay buff, medium. Glaze thin blue, which covers entire surface, mottled red on foot. Stacking ring. Foot is divided into two bands by grooves.

D. of foot, 0.04 m.

Similar but less distinct profile: **C 26d**.

Cf. foot of two-handled cup: *Ceramica Campana* 195 form 49, profile of an example from Ampurias. Lamboglia lists other examples of this cup from Minturnae, "nell'oppido di Teste Nègre" (southern France), Maiorca and Ampurias. The example from Minturnae does not have a foot identical to the Cosa one. Another form from Minturnae, a pseudo-cylix, does have a similar foot (*Minturnae* 100 type 20 pl. 4 pl. 5).

A 12 Base of plate.

Clay buff, hard. Glaze blue-black on floor, metallic green on exterior. Glaze covers entire surface. High foot with oblique interior.

D. of foot, 0.04 m.

A 13 Saucer with thickened downturned rim. Pl. XXII.

Clay buff. Glaze firm blue-black. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.20 m.

Holwerda no. 231 fig. 5 pl. 2 pl. 10, from Volterra. *Tarsus* 213 fig. 179 D (red glaze with center black from stacking). See *Tarsus* 212, note 9 for bibliography of other examples in the eastern Mediterranean area. The *Tarsus* example was found in the late Hellenistic Unit, dated "ca. second quarter of second century B.C."

A 14 Bowl with outrolled rim. Pl. XXII.

Type II (?). Clay buff, hard. Glaze blue-black which peels easily. Deep body.

D. of rim, 0.16 m.

Similar form: **A 15**, **B 36**, **C 7**, **20**, and **28**, **D 8**, and **E 8**. See *infra* 157 for description of this form in Type II.

The bowl with outrolled rim has a longer history than any other form found at Cosa. It also shows greater variation in shape than any other form. Its history is complicated by the fact that, in some fabrics, it develops into a rimless bowl. The bibliography below gives a great number of shapes. The bibliography for individual fabrics and comparative dating will be given in the descriptions of the fabrics.

Black glaze: *Ampurias* fig. 135 no. 1, fig. 332 no. 5, fig. 334 no. 7; *Albenga* fig. 28, from the sea near Albenga; *NS* (1951) 270 fig. 8A, from Syracuse; *Ceramica Campana* 160 forms 17, 18 and 19 Type C, examples from the Museo Nazionale di Syracuse, from Ventimiglia, 171 form 22 Type A, examples from the museum of Valencia, from Ampurias, from Ensérune, 177 form 28 Type A, examples from Ensérune and Minturnae, example from Ventimiglia, another from Ischia; *Ventimiglia* fig. 28 no. 24, fig. 34 no. 9, fig. 52 nos. 8, 9, and 12, fig. 55 no. 11; *EVP* 244 ii, example from Cerveteri, another from Sovana; *Minturnae* type 18 pls. 1 and 3; F. Mouret, *CVA* France fasc. 6 pl. 14 no. 10, pl. 22, nos 32, 48-50, 58, all from Ensérune; *Antioch IV pt. I*, 9, H9, and 10 pl. 1; *Athens A 7-13* fig. 3, C 3 and 4 fig. 28, D 2-6 fig. 55, E 33-44 figs. 83, 115, 117. The bowls in Groups D and E of Athens are the closest parallels for most of the Cosa bowls. The Cosa bowls of Type II and a few pieces of similar form are exceptions. They are closer to the bowls in earlier groups or to "Hellenistic-Pergamene" bowls. Other examples: one, Type II or very similar, from Arezzo (Museo Archeologico Mecenate, no. 1305); several, Type II, in the Museo Arqueológico of Barcelona and the museum in Ampurias; examples, Type IV, from Tarquinia (Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese).

Red glaze: *Dura* 9 nos. 49 and 50; *Tarsus* 234 no. 290 and fig. 188: E and 290. F. O. Waagè, "The Roman and Byzantine Pottery" *Hesperia* 2 (1933) pl. 8 shape 48. See *Tarsus* 234 note 35, other examples of red glaze bowls in the eastern Mediterranean area.

A 15 Bowl with outturned rim. Pl. XXII.

Type II. Clay buff, hard. Glaze firm blue-black. Rim flattened on top.
D. of rim, 0.18 m. Fragments of two.

Similar form: see **A 14**. See *infra* 157 for description of this form in Type II.

A 16 Bowl with heavy outturned rim. Pl. XXII.

Type IV. Clay orange-pink, fired irregularly. Glaze firm black. Groove made with pointed instruments runs around bowl on exterior, 0.03 m. below rim.

D. of rim, 0.16 m.

See *infra* 185 for description of this form.

A 17 Small bowl with thickened lip. Pl. XXII.

Type IV (?). Clay orange-buff. Glaze metallic black. Deep full body.
D. of rim, 0.10 m. Two joining fragments.

See *infra* 185 for discussion of this form.

A 18 Rimless bowl with angular wall. Pl. XXII.

Type IV. Clay orange-pink, very hard. Glaze thin black.

D. of rim, 0.18 m. Three examples; six fragments, two of which join.

Similar form: **A 19**, **B 37-39**, **C 8**, **10**, **17-19**, **29** and **36**, **D 9** and **13**, **E 9** and **11**.
Similar fabric: **B 38**, **C 10a** and **b**, **19a**, **29b**, **E 11**.

See *infra* 180 for description of this form in Type IV.

The rimless bowl, like the bowl with outrolled rim, varies greatly in angularity of wall. The bibliography and comparative dating for the forms of the individual fabrics will be given in the descriptions of the fabrics.

Ampurias fig. 130 no. 13, fig. 241 no. 5, fig. 248 no. 5, fig. 294 no. 3, fig. 333 no. 4, fig. 354 no. 1, fig. 359 no. 8; *Ceramica Campana* 148 form 8 Type B, example in the museum in Ampurias, another in the Museo Arqueológico of Barcelona, 159 form 16 Type C, example from the Museo Nazionale in Syracuse, 177 form 28 Type A, example from Ensérune, another from Ventimiglia, 178f. form 29 Type A, example from Minturnae, another from the Museo Nazionale di Palermo, 179 form 30 Type A, example from Minturnae, others from Ventimiglia, 180 form 31 Type A, examples from Ensérune, another from Minturnae, examples from Saint-Rémy, from Cavaillon, from Ventimiglia, 182 form 33 Type A, examples from Ensérune, from Ventimiglia; *Ventimiglia* fig. 20 nos. 42-44, fig. 23 no. 1, fig. 24 nos. 1-3, fig. 27 nos. 17 and 22, fig. 34 nos. 5-8, 10-13, fig. 37 nos. 47-49, 52-53, fig. 43 no. 2, fig. 47 nos. 1-2, fig. 48 no. 2, fig. 51 no. 1, fig. 55 nos. 3-4, 17-18, 20-22, fig. 97 no. 3, fig. 110 nos. 5-8, fig. 111 nos. 1-4; *Holwerda* no. 272 fig. 2 pl. 3, from Volterra; *Minturnae* type 17 pls. 1 and 3, type 22 pl. 4, type 30 pl. 6; W. Van Ingen, *CVA* USA fasc. 3 pl. 32 no. 23, said to be from Cumae; F. Mouret, *CVA* France fasc. 6 pl. 23 no. 8, from Ensérune; *Athens* E 43-44; other examples: from Volterra (Museo Guarnacci, *pianterreno*, sala 6, and Museo Archeologico in Florence), from Castiglioncello, Types I and II (Museo Archeologico in Castiglioncello), from Paestum, Type I (Museo Nazionale di Paestum).

Red glaze: *Dura* 9 no. 48; *Tarsus* no. 275 figs. 137 and 188; *Antioch IV pt. I*, 24 no. 132 pl. 4; *Samaria* 306, 7a-b, c-d.

A 19 Rimless bowl with vertical wall. Pl. XXII.

Type IV. Clay orange-pink, hard. Glaze thin black, slightly metallic. Smaller than **A 18**.
D. of rim, 0.08 m. Three examples.

Similar form: see **A 18**.

Similar fabric and form: **C 19c**, **D 12**.

See *infra* 181 for description of this form.

Example, Type IV, in the Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, two from Tuscania (Museo Archeologico in Florence, *sala XVI*), one from Castiglioncello (Museo Archeologico in Castiglioncello, tomb XVIII).

A 20 Bowl with horizontal rim, profiled at edge. Pl. XXII.

Clay hard buff. Glaze thin brown-black. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.19 m.

Similar fabric: **A 3**.

Holwerda nos. 247-254 fig. 5 pl. 2, from Volterra.

A 21 Bowl with slightly incurved rim.

Type IV. Clay pink-buff to buff, occasionally greyish, fine and hard, breaks with a sharp fracture. Glaze firm black, dull or lustrous, mottled red near base. Bottom of foot usually unglazed. Thinner glazes somewhat iridescent. Stacking rings common. Bowls with better glazes have thicker walls and fuller curving bodies, lower broader feet with rounded exteriors, oblique interiors. Those with poorer glazes have thinner, more angular walls, higher, straighter feet.

H., 0.05-0.06 m. D. of rim, 0.12-0.16 m. D. of foot, 0.04-0.05 m. No complete bowls. Many non-joining fragments. Pieces of approximately one hundred twenty bowls. Subdivisions of form are based upon form of foot and/or quality of glaze. They probably indicate workshops.

21a Pl. II.

Clay pink-buff, fine. Glaze firm black with high sheen.

D. of rim, 0.14 m. Single fragment.

21b Pl. II. Pl. III. Pl. XXIII.

Clay pink-buff to buff. Glaze firm black but duller than **A 21a**. With and without stamps.

H., 0.10 m. D. of rim, 0.12 m. D. of foot, 0.05 m. Fragments of many examples.

Similar stamps: single rosette, *NS* (1949) 255 fig. 31 nos. f-i, from Cagliari; F. Mouret, *CVA France fasc. 6* pl. 26 no. 5, pl. 27 nos. 6 and 8, pl. 28 nos. 1-3, 5, 7, 9, 11-13, 15, pl. 29 nos. 4-6, 8, pl. 30 nos. 2-3, 7-11, 14-15, 17, 24; four rosettes, *ibid.*, pl. 29 nos. 2 and 15; four palmettes, *ibid.*, pl. 25 no. 3, all from Ensérune.

21c Pl. IV. Pl. XX. Pl. XXIII. Pl. XLIV.

Clay and glaze similar to **A 21b**. Foot lower and broader. With and without stamps.

H., 0.05 m. D. of rim, 0.13 m. D. of foot, 0.05 m. Fragments of several examples. Less common than **A 21b**. Graffito on one fragment.

Similar stamps: single star (see also **D 26aI**) J. M. Casal, *Fouilles de Virampatnam-Arika-medu* (Paris 1949) pl. 16-B. Example shown is from Rome (Museo Nazionale); similar rosettes: F. Mouret, *CVA France fasc. 6* pl. 29 no. 15, from Ensérune.

21d Pl. IV. Pl. XXIV.

Clay similar to **A 21b** and **c**. Glaze is generally poorer in quality. Foot is higher. Wall is thinner. Without stamps.

H., 0.05 m. D. of rim, 0.14 m. D. of foot, 0.05 m. Fragments of many examples. Almost as common as **A 21b**.

21c Pl. XXIV.

Clay and glaze similar to **A 21d**. Foot is high and slightly offset. Without stamps. H., 0.05 m. D. of rim, 0.14 m. D. of foot, 0.05 m.

Similar form: **A 22-24, B 14** and **42, C 30, D 9e**. **A 25-26** and **B 4** are smaller versions of the same form.

See *infra* 183 for description of this form in Type IV.

The bibliography for the bowl with incurved rim is enormous. I have attempted to confine it to bowls which are very similar in curve of body and rim to the Cosa examples:

RS Lig 21 (1955) 274 and 277 fig. 5, Type I, from Vado Ligure; *Ampurias* fig. 178 no. 5, fig. 211 no. 2, fig. 224 no. 16, fig. 232 no. 16, fig. 248 no. 6, fig. 325 nos. 9-10, fig. 332 no. 3, fig. 334 no. 9. One of the burials in which the form occurs is dated in the second half of the third century; seven are dated to the transition of the third-second centuries and the first half of the second, one is undated. *NS* (1951) 169-224, especially figs. 14-15, from Carsoli. These bowls are more curved than the Cosa ones; their stamps include a greater variety of patterns. Most of this votive deposit, datable by its coins, must have accumulated in the last decades of the fourth century and the third century. Sydenham's chronology (*CRR*) places its closing in the second century, near the beginning of the second quarter. Seven hundred eighty coins were found in this deposit. It has been dated (*NS* (1951) 184) from the last decades of the fourth century to 217 B.C., a dating based upon the chronology in *BMCRep*. Coins of the "uncial" standard are not represented and only ten of the "sextantal". Eight of the latter standard are without symbols or letters; one of the two remaining is a *quadrans* dated, according to the chronology in *CRR*, "c. 187-175 B.C." (*CRR* no. 148 c) and the other a *sextans* dated by the same chronology "c. 182-172 B.C." (*CRR* no. 160 c). *Ceramica Campana* 176 form 27 Type A, examples from Ensérune, Minturnae, Ampurias, Ventimiglia. Lamboglia believes that the form was in use in the fourth century, became common in the third, and second. *Ventimiglia* fig. 23 no. 1, fig. 27 no. 21, fig. 34 nos. 13-15, fig. 47 nos. 3-4, fig. 48 no. 1; *CVH* pl. 59 nos. 11 and 15; W. Van Ingen, *CVA USA* fasc. 3 pl. 32 no. 16, pl. 34 no. 1, example said to be from Chiusi; *MonAnt* 37 (1938) pl. 37 no. 16 from Foci del Garigliano. These bowls are slightly more curved than the Cosa ones. *BollComm* 64 (1936) 100 fig. 8, from Rome, the excavations of the Largo Argentina. The large black glaze bowls of the votive stips of Temple A in the Largo Argentina are slightly more curved than the bowls of Cosa **A 21**. The smaller ones have oblique walls very similar to those of Cosa **A 24** and **25**. Unfortunately, the coin which was used to date the transition from the first to the second period of Temple A is identified (96) only as "una moneta del III secolo av. Cr." The altar of this phase of Temple A, that is, the period of the stips, is analogous in type and proportions to the altar of Aulus Postumius Albinus (97). The date for the latter has been placed "alla fine del III secolo av. Cr." (For the dating of the altar of Aulus Postumius see G. Marchetti-Longhi, "Gli scavi del Largo Argentina," *BollComm* 71 (1943-44) 58 ff). *Holwerda* no. 276 fig. 2 pl. 3, examples from Volterra; *Minturnae* type 13 pls. 1 and 3. The Minturnae bowls are slightly more curved than the Cosa examples. The Minturnae deposit dates in the middle of the third century. F. Mouret, *CVA France* fasc. 6 pl. 22 nos. 21-31 and 33, all from Ensérune. Some of the bowls may be more curved than the Cosa ones. C. L. Woolley, "Some Potters' Marks from Cales," *JRS* 1 (1911) 202 fig. 38 no. 9. In *MonAnt* 37 (1938) 899-900, Mingazzini dates the stamps on the Cales bowls by similar forms of letters and ligatures on coins. (He follows the chronology in *BMCRep*). The coins which he uses for the comparison are "sextantal" bronze, that is, coins dated, according to the chronology in *CRR*, after ca. 187 B.C. Almost all these coins have been assigned (*CRR*) to the interval "c. 150-133 B.C.". *Tarsus* nos. 52 and 67 fig. 180; *Antioch IV*, pt. 1, 13 nos. 75-78 pls. 2 and 3, especially 76 a, 77 k (black glaze), no. 79 pl. 3 (red glaze); *Athens* D 9 figs. 55 and 117. Group D is dated in the middle of the second century. Example from Talamone (Museo Archeologico in Florence no. 10594), from Vetulonia (same museum), from Paestum, Type I (Museo Nazionale di Paestum), from Tarquinia (Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese).

A 22 Bowl with slightly incurved rim. Pl. XX. Pl. XXII. Pl. XLVI.

Type I. Clay brown-red. Glaze firm black, mottled red on upper part of foot. Most of foot unglazed. Form similar to **A 21** except that rim curves inward less. Thin wall. Foot has rounded exterior, oblique interior. One fragment preserves part of a single rosette on center of floor. Graffito on exterior of bowl with rosette stamp.

H., 0.06 m. D. of rim, 0.14 m. D. of foot, 0.05 m. Fragments of four, two joining pieces.

Similar fabric and form: **B 42c**, **D 10a** and **26aI** and **3II**. See *infra* 148 for description of form in Type I.

Identical rosette stamp: F. Mouret, *CVA* France fasc. 6 pl. 25 no. 3, from Ensérune.

A 23 Bowl with slightly incurved rim with decoration in white paint.

Type I. Clay pink-buff, coarse and hard. Glaze thin black, metallic. Body less full than **A 21**, more than **A 22**. Heavy wall. Bowl distinguished by decoration of narrow bands of white paint which encircle interior just below rim. This kind of decoration is peculiar to Type I bowls.

D. of rim, 0.13 m. Two fragments.

See *infra* 149 for description of form in Type I.

A 24 Bowl with slightly incurved rim. Pl. XXII.

Type III (?). Clay grey, hard. Glaze firm black, slightly iridescent. Inside of foot unglazed. Thin wall. Low foot similar to **A 21b**. On floor part of central rosette stamp, depressed.

D. of rim, 0.13 m. D. of foot, 0.06 m.

Similar bowl (fabric and form): **B 42d**.

See *infra* 170 for description of form in Type III.

A 25 Small bowl with incurved rim. Pl. IV. Pl. XXII.

Type IV (?). Clay buff to orange. Glaze thin black, metallic, mottled red. Thick heavy wall. Low foot with rounded exterior, oblique interior. Distinct turning point on inside of foot.

H., 0.03 m. D. of rim, 0.07 m. D. of foot, 0.03 m. Fragments of seven.

Similar form: **B 4**.

See *infra* 183 for discussion of this form.

Ampurias fig. 118 no. 2, form dated in the third century; *Ceramica Campana* 173 form 25 Type A, example from Ensérune, from the Museo Arqueológico of Barcelona, the latter from Ampurias and other sites on the Catalonian coast. Lamboglia believes that this form was in use in the last half of the fourth century and continued in the third and second centuries; *Holwerda* no. 281 pl. 3; *Minturnae* types 14 and 15 pls. 3 and 5; F. Mouret, *CVA* France fasc. 6 pl. 17 nos. 8, 10 and 13, pl. 22 nos. 61-63. For additional bibliography see **A 21**.

A 26 Small bowl with sharply incurved rim. Pl. IV. Pl. XXII.

Type IV (?). Clay pink-buff, hard and coarse. Glaze thin black mottled red on base. Thick wall tapering to thin lip. Foot has straight exterior, oblique interior and central turning point.

H., 0.03 m. D. of rim, 0.05 m. D. of foot, 0.03 m.

See *infra* 183 for discussion of this form.

For bibliography see **A 21** and **A 25**.

A 27 Small bowl with curved overhanging rim. Pl. V. Pl. XXII.

Clay orange-buff, hard. Glaze thin metallic. Full curving body. Foot has oblique exterior and interior with slight point on inside of foot. On center of floor a "fish plate" type depression with surrounding ridge. Exterior of rim decorated with pattern of incised oblique lines and crosses. For graffito, see pl. XLIV. Unique.

H., 0.03 m. D. of rim, 0.05 m. D. of foot, 0.03 m.

See *EVP* 244 f. iv for variations of the form and its distribution. *Rome* fig. 120 e. Ryberg (*Rome* 94, note 70) refers to innumerable little dishes with striated overhanging rim in the Museo Nazionale in Rome. D. Levi, *CVA* Italy fasc. 8 IV B 2 pl. 1 no. 14, from Vetulonia; *MonAnt* 37 (1938) pl. 37 nos. 9, 21 and 22 from Foci del Garigliano; *Holwerda* no. 286 fig. 5 pl. 3, from Montalcino; *Minturnae* types 45 and 46 pls. 5 and 6. Minturnae examples and those from Foci del Garigliano are earlier versions in the same tradition of form and incised decoration. *NS* (1931) 493 fig. 11 e, from La Tomba della Pellegrina at Chiusi. The tomb is dated (505) earlier than second century. Unpublished example from the votive deposit of Carsoli; another in Volterra (Museo Guarnacci, sala 9). Bowl with depressed floor and ridge but without striation, from Sovana (Museo Archeologico in Florence, sala XX). The distribution of the bowls similar to **A 27** indicates a source in or near Rome.

A 28 Small bowl with broad ribbon-band rim. Pl. V. Pl. XXIV.

Clay grey-buff, hard. Glaze firm black.

D. of rim, 0.06 m.

See *infra* 185 for discussion of this form.

See *EVP* 244 f. iv for variations of this form and its distribution; *Holwerda* no. 164 fig. 5, no. 165 pl. 2. Example in Volterra (Museo Guarnacci, sala 9), many in Ferrara (Museo Gregorio-Etrusco di Spina, sala 1, excavations of 1933-37, Deposit A).

A 29 Small bowl with broad ribbon-band rim. Pl. XX. Pl. XXIV.

Type IV. Clay orange-buff. One example (a) has a firm black glaze thinning to red on the edges. It has a graffito on the interior (see pl. XLIV). The other (b) has a glaze of poorer quality and rougher surface. Both have a deep groove on the exterior at the base of the band.

H. of body, 0.04 m. D. of rim, 0.07 m. Four joining fragments of example a.

Similar fabric and form: **B 13** and **43a**, **C 9a**, **D 11**, **E 10**.

See *infra* 184 for description of this form in Type IV.

A 29 must be a local version of **A 28**.

Ceramica Campana 195 form 51, example from Ampurias. Examples with similar form: D. Levi, "Le necropoli puniche di Olbia" *Studi Sardi* 9 (1950) pl. 15a, F 29; from Falerii Veteres (Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia in Rome, nos. 927, 955, 2038, 3682, 50807), from Tuscania (Museo Archeologico in Florence, no. 75327, and the Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese), from Pitigliano (museum in Pitigliano).

A 30 Large bowl with broad ribbon-band rim. Pl. XXIV.

Type IV (?). Clay pink-buff, soft. Glaze dull thin black which flakes easily.

D. of rim, 0.16 m.

Cf. form of **C 33** and **D 15**.

See *infra* 184 for discussion of this form.

A 31 Large bowl with ribbon-band rim.

31a Pl. V. Pl. XXIV. Clay pink-buff, hard, fired irregularly. Glaze firm black, both matt and metallic, covers entire surface. Shallow bowl with almost oblique wall. Exterior and interior of foot oblique. Conspicuous instrument marks encircle foot and body. Floor has wide band of rouletting bounded by concentric circles. In center a small circle surrounded by five identical stamps.

H., 0.06 m. D. of rim, 0.16 m. D. of foot, 0.05 m. Two non-joining fragments. Section of body missing.

EVP 244 iii, eleven examples from Volterra, one possibly from Volterra, one from Vetulonia, and one of unknown provenience; Chr. Blinkenberg and K. F. Johansen *CVA* Denmark fasc. 5 pl. 222 no. 1, from Volterra (no. 3 in *EVP*). This bowl is heavier than the Cosa example. *MonAnt* 37 (1938) pl. 37 no. 17, from Foci del Garigliano; *Holwerda* no. 255 fig. 2 and pl. 2, no. 256 pl. 2, nos. 257-60 pl. 3, no. 261 fig. 2, nos. 262-267 fig. 2 and pl. 3, nos. 268-69 pl. 3, no. 270 fig. 2 and pl. 3, no. 271 fig. 2 and pl. 3; example from Vetulonia (Museo Archeologico in Florence), from Castiglione (Museo Archeologico in Castiglione). None of these examples is stamped. For a similar but not identical stamp see W. Van Ingen, *CVA* USA fasc. 3 pl. 33 no. 11, bowl identified as Greek. On this form Beazley (*EVP loc. cit.*) writes: "this variety of dishie appears to be Etruscan; at least in the Attic type that corresponds to it the lip is less prominent."

He mentions a grey bucchero example of the form in a late fifth century tomb of Todi.

31b. Clay pink-buff. Glaze thin black fired an orange-red. Form similar to **A 31a**.

Section of rim and body only.

A 32 Bowl with two handles. Pl. XXIV.

Clay pink-buff, hard. Broad template marks encircle body. Glaze black with high sheen. Full curving body. Foot is raised, with oblique exterior and interior and central point. Small spurs on top of handle. Unique.

H., 0.06 m. D. of rim, 0.14 m. D. of foot, 0.05 m. Six pieces, four joining, of foot, body, rim, and one handle.

Holwerda nos. 179-180 fig. 3 pl. 2, from Volterra; *Minturnae* type 26 pls. 1 and 6. The Cosa bowl must be several years later than the Minturnae examples. For comparable handle shape see *Tarsus* 217 fig. 181: A, from bottom level of Middle Hellenistic Unit, which is dated in the third century and beginning of second; B, from bottom level of Hellenistic-Roman Unit, which is dated "ca. mid-second to mid-first", no. 126 fig. 183, from Middle Hellenistic Unit. Example from Tuscania (Museo Archeologico in Florence, sala XVI).

A 33 Bowl with handle. Pl. XXIV.

Clay buff. Conspicuous marks of template on interior, brush on exterior. Glaze thin blue-black.

D. of rim, 0.20 (?) m. Fragment of rim, body and handle of one example; handle of a second. First example broken just below handle because it was too heavy for wall.

A 34 Rimless bowl with handle. Pl. XXV.

Clay dark buff, granular and hard. Glaze blue-black with sheen. Unique. Form may be a cylix.

D. of rim, 0.10 m.

A 35 Handle of cup. Pl. XXV.

Clay hard pink-buff. Glaze thin black. Handle rolled carelessly and glaze applied unevenly. Elliptical in cross section.

A 36 Rimless cup with handle. Pl. XXV.

Type IV. Clay coarse orange-buff with conspicuous tool and brush marks. Glaze thin black, mottled red near base and underneath handle. Glaze flakes and wears off easily. Small low foot with rounded exterior and interior and broad resting surface. Height and form of body not clear. Handle takes off from lip and curves downward. Shape of base and finish of clay indicate that this bowl was made by the same hand as the small bowls of **A 21c**.

D. of rim, 0.09 m. D. of foot, 0.03 m. Two fragments give base, part of lip and handle of one example. Base of second.

See *infra* 186 for discussion of this form of Type IV.

EVP 236 Δ. ii; *Holwerda* nos. 181-182 fig. 3 pl. 2, from Volterra.

A 37 Cup (?) with handle. Pl. V. Pl. XXV.

Clay hard grey, finished roughly on interior. Glaze grey-black, slightly metallic. Rim turns outward. On exterior decoration of fat palmette and tendril in thin white paint. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.12 m. Six fragments, two joining pairs, give lip, handle take-off and part of body.

Similar form and decoration: *NS* (1912) 274 fig. 2, from Ostia. Similar form: *Rome* fig. 131a, "Gnathian" ware from Rome. Similar decoration: *EVP* 207 f. "The Group of Ferrara T 585" and *Rome* 102 f. and fig. 110 (from the Esquiline). The palmette on the side of the skyphos from the Esquiline is very similar in shape to that of **A 37**. The wall of the skyphos, a fourth century example, is much heavier than that of the Cosa fragment. Ryberg (*Rome* 103, note 20) mentions four examples of this type of skyphos from Roman finds, others from Falerii, the museum at Tarquinia, and from Populonia. Beazley (*EVP loc. cit.*) includes skyphoi from Populonia, Rome, Spina and Ensérune and askoi from Capena and Rome in "The Group of Ferrara T 585."

A 38 Small jug. Pl. V. Pl. XXV. Pl. XLIV.

Clay pink-buff, hard. Conspicuous ridges on interior. Glaze firm black with sheen, better quality than most of the pieces in this deposit. Full form not clear. Thin wall. Egg-shaped body, almost spheroid. Sharply outturned rim. On exterior the letters poco painted in white around the body just below the rim. Unique.

D. at neck, 0.05 m. Two non-joining fragments of body and part of rim.

This is another example of the "pocola" series. Cf. *NS* (1951) 214, from Carsoli; *EVP* 209-216, especially 209 (g) and 216; *Rome* 135-140. For source and date of this series see **A 1**. The full form of the Cosa jug was probably similar to the example in Ritschl, *Priscaae Latinitatis Monumenta*, pl. 10 a and A, example formerly in Museo Campano. For an identical form with two handles see *Ardea* pl. 2 no. 23 and *EVP* 234. For handleless version see *Holwerda* nos. 209-210 fig. 3 pl. 2, from Volterra. For footless, handleless versions see *EVP* 247 ii and iii.

The last of these versions has bucchero prototypes (*Ardea* pl. 1 no. 14 and F. N. Pryce *CVA Great Britain fasc. 10 pl. 24 no. 11*). G. Matteucig *op. cit.* (**A 6**) 70 notes that footless, handleless impasto jars of this form appear frequently in central and southern Etruria, especially in the region of Sovana.

A 39 Small jug. Pl. XXV. Pl. XLIV.

Clay buff. Glaze black with sheen. Glaze on exterior and rim and neck of interior. Angular wall, flaring rim. Design with three diagonal lines on exterior, 0.025 below rim, scratched with pointed instrument. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.10 m. Fragment of rim and wall.

For form cf. **C 40**.

A 40 Pitcher with spout. Pl. XXV.

Clay yellow-buff, hard. Glaze very thin black, mottled red on exterior and on interior of lip. Glaze flakes easily. Low foot, slightly profiled, with rounded exterior. Rounded body, contracted neck and sharply flaring rim. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.11 m. D. of neck, 0.08 m. D. of foot, 0.05 m. Four fragments, two joining, give lip, parts of wall, spout and base.

A 41 Pitcher. Pl. XXV.

Clay deep orange, slivers off in layers. Turning ridges on interior. Glaze thin black, mottled red near base. Interior of body and bottom of foot unglazed. Broad foot, slightly profiled. Gently curving wall. Unique.

D. of foot, 0.07 m. Nine fragments, three joining, of base and lower part of body.

A 42 Pitcher. Pl. XXV.

Clay coarse grey, fired irregularly. Thin grey slip on interior slivers off. Glaze black with some sheen. Interior of body and inside of foot unglazed. Low broad base similar to those of black glaze bowls of grey clay (**A 24**). Thick wall. Distinct shoulder and narrow neck. Handle attachment just above shoulder. Unique.

D. of foot, 0.06 m. Seven fragments, two joining, give base, shoulder, and point of handle take-off.

A 43 Base of closed form. Pl. VI. Pl. XXV.

Clay grey-buff, coarse, rough finish on interior. Glaze metallic black, mottled red near base. Inside of foot unglazed except for a long leaf in thinned black. This is probably the mark of identification of a shop or a potter. Interior has faint traces of black glaze. Low foot and heavy wall. Similar in this respect to **A 42**. Depression in center of floor. Unique.

D. of foot, 0.05 m.

A 44 Pitcher (?) Pl. XXV.

Clay pink-buff, hard. Glaze thin black with sheen on exterior and on interior of neck. Flakes easily. Body has thin wall. Shoulder curves gradually to a narrow neck. Base of heavy ribbon handle at bottom of shoulder.

Preserved height, 0.07 m.

Three fragments: two, parts of neck, shoulder, and base of handle; third, a handle. Form may be a small amphora rather than a pitcher.

A 45 Closed form. Unidentified. Pl. VI.

Clay grey-pink, hard. Glaze metallic black, on exterior only. Glaze similar in metallic quality to that of **A 27**. Fine shallow ribbing on part of exterior. Unique.

Two non-joining pieces. Dimensions of larger, 0.02 × 0.02 m.

A 46 Closed form. Unidentified. Pl. VI.

Clay buff, fine and hard. On exterior a slipped surface on which a decoration in black glaze (or paint) thinning to reddish brown is applied. Remains of three, perhaps four, long palmette leaves. Unique.

Dimensions, 0.06 × 0.03 m.

A 47 Closed form. Unidentified. Pl. VI.

Clay and glaze (or paint) same as **A 46**. Piece is thinner and more curved than **A 46**, but may be part of the same vessel. Design on exterior consists of thin parallel lines and raindrops. Unique.

Dimensions, 0.04 × 0.03 m.

I have not been able to identify this fragment or **A 46**, which has similar fabric and decorative technique. They may be late members of the "Group of Toronto 495" (*EVP* 182-186). A jug from Populonia (Museo Archeologico in Florence, *sala xxxi*) and another in Castiglione (case 1, tomb xi, no. 106) have similar raindrop-decoration.

A 48 Closed form. Unidentified.

Clay warm buff. Glaze metallic black on exterior only. Thick-walled base of small vessel. Base rounded on exterior, oblique on interior. Slight central point.

D. of foot, 0.03 m. Bases of three examples.

A 49 Closed form. Unidentified.

Clay grey. Glaze blue-black on exterior only. Foot oblique on exterior and interior. D. of foot, 0.02 m. Base of one example.

DEPOSIT B: INTRODUCTION

In the excavation of the great basilica on the northeast side of the Forum in 1951 deposits sealed under its floors were removed from four areas: one from the north corner, a second near the middle of the northwest wall, a third from almost the center of the nave, and a fourth from the northeast aisle not far from the east corner of the basilica.

In the north corner a fault caused by the collapse of the corner of the basilica was cleaned of fallen debris and enlarged to a five meter square. This excavation was carried to a depth of one meter. Stratification consisted of layers of filling earth: yellow, reddish, and black, divided roughly midway by a sloping layer of greyish yellow clay mud.

In the area near the middle of the northwest wall a pit was cleaned of fallen debris and enlarged to a rectangle ca. 5.5 × ca. 2.0 m. This area was excavated to a depth of about a meter and a half. Through the center of the fill near the northwest side of the basilica a rough wall of large unworked stones, scantily mortared, ran in a line perpendicular to the foundations of that side of the basilica. This wall divided the fill beneath the basilica floor and protected the wall and vault of a great cistern beneath the floor. Northwest

of the wall was a stratification similar to that in the north corner; southeast of it were two brownish red strata laid as packing for the cistern.

In the center of the nave the debris of a circular pit (ca. 2.5 m. in diameter) where the basilica floor had broken was cleared and an area approximately three meters square was excavated. Bedrock was encountered in this area 2.33 m. below the last basilica floor. The fill here was similar to that in the north corner.

The sounding near the east corner of the basilica covered a rectangular area approximately four and a half meters in length and four in width, and extended to a depth of 2.45 m. Excavation revealed a wall of rubblework which antedated the basilica and ran almost parallel to its northeast wall. The fill on both sides of this wall under the basilica was almost entirely fine debris from the working of the travertine columns of the basilica.

Beyond the west corner of the basilica, a colonnade was discovered, running at right angles to the basilica and partially buried under the basilica at the time of its construction. Excavation in this area (3.2 × 7.4 m.), went through five levels: Level I or surface, Level II, the two successive signinum pavements of the basilica, Level III, fill beneath the basilica floors above the pavement of the colonnade, Level IV, the two colonnade pavements, and Level V, fill of earth and limestone spalls above bedrock. The fill in Level III was slightly less than a meter in depth; that in Level V about a half-meter. Deposit B is the fill of the basilica; therefore, it includes the pottery of Level III of this area, but does not include the pottery of Level V. Since, however, the pottery of Level V has some value, on a comparative basis, for dating the pottery of Deposits A, B, and C, it appears with the catalogue of Deposit B. The classification **BB** differentiates the pottery of this Level from the fill of the basilica. In the catalogue of Deposit B the locus of each piece has been given in the hope that future excavations may clarify the constructions under the basilica.

The *terminus ante quem* of Deposit B depends upon the dates of the construction of the basilica and the colonnade. A *denarius* (CD 1050) found in the fill of the basilica below its lowest step on the northwest side is dated "c. 145-138 B.C." ¹ The later of two bronze coins (CD 913) found in the fill of the colonnade is a *quadrans* dated "c. 167-155 B.C." ² The basilica, therefore, was constructed sometime after ca. 145 B.C., the colonnade after ca. 167 B.C. These conclusions are supported by the evidence of other coins. Two were found in the fill of the basilica, one in the north corner (CD 910) and the other in the northeast aisle (CD 912). The first, an *as*, ³ is dated "c. 187-175 B.C."; the

¹ CRR no. 376. See E. A. Sydenham, "Ornamental Detail as a Guide to the Classification of Republican Denarii," *NumChron* Sixth Series I 117 f. and "Problems of the Early Roman Denarius," *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress* (London 1938) 262 f. for the dating evidence for this coin.

² CRR no. 231C.

³ *Ibid.* no. 143.

second, a *quadrans*,⁴ "c. 167-155 B.C." The other coin in the fill for the colonnade is a *triens* dated in the late third or early second century.⁵

The lamps of Deposit B offer assistance, on a comparative basis, in dating the deposit. Examples of the more numerous wheel-made type of Deposit A were found in some quantity in Deposit B. A few fragments of molded lamps occur in Deposit B, none in Deposit A. Deposit B, therefore, seems to have a *terminus ante quem* later than Deposit A.

The black-glaze pottery discovered in Level III of the area near the southwest corner of the basilica is similar to that found in Deposit C (Level III and, especially, Level IV of Section 16 of the Atrium Publicum adjoining the basilica and the colonnade on the northwest). These pieces seem to be part of the pottery of the same household, or shop, represented by Deposit C. With the exception of these pieces, the pottery of Deposit B is poor and fragmentary. In comparison with the pottery of Deposit A the forms are simpler and the workmanship more careless. The glazes are poor. Decorative devices in Deposit B are rare. Floor designs are limited to rings and rouletting. A few pieces which show the influence of metal work are unique to Deposit B, e.g., a base (**B 33**) and a "Megarian" bowl (**B 36c**). Many forms found in Deposit A do not appear in Deposit B. Almost all the duplicates in the two deposits occur in the forms which are common in the later deposits, that is, forms which are probably the latest ones in Deposit A. Types I and II, for example, which appear in Deposit A in small quantities and in Deposit B in relatively greater quantities, account for several of the duplicates. Type III, rare in Deposit A, is more common in Deposit B.

The evidence of the pottery from the fill of the basilica indicates that most of the pieces are later than those in the fill of the Capitolium (Deposit A) and that the two fills do not overlap chronologically by many years. A construction date for the basilica, the *terminus ante quem* for Deposit B, of ca. 140 B.C. would be consistent with the date of the coin found in the fill below its step. If the Capitolium was constructed about the middle of the second century and a period of several years separates most of its fill from that of the basilica, the latter must represent an accumulation in the years immediately preceding ca. 140, at most a period of twenty or thirty years. This interval would be sufficient to explain the small overlap between the two fills. A *terminus ante quem* for Deposit B of ca. 140 B.C. would account, also, for the fact that Deposit B does not overlap Deposit D, for which a *terminus post quem* of 130-120 B.C. is suggested. (See the introduction to Deposit D.)

⁴ *Ibid.* no. 231C.

⁵ *BMCR*ep** ii 220 no. 341. This coin is not given in *CRR*. The dating in *BMCR*ep** is "c. 217-197 B.C." The only examples of this type listed in *CRR* belong to the "sextantal" standard (see no. 148b) and have a date of "c. 187-175 B.C." Despite the coin's light weight Grueber suggested that this issue might have formed part of an earlier one (*BMCR*ep** ii 220 note 2). Sydenham (*CRR* no. 148) seems to have recognized only one issue. In his reference to Grueber's types corresponding to his classification, however, he did not mention the lighter series.

Since one area of the excavation below the basilica floors was cleared to bedrock the only sure *terminus post quem* for Deposit B, as for Deposit A, is 273 B.C., the date of the founding of the colony. Some, but very few, of the pieces of black glaze pottery in Deposit B may be products of the third or early second century. The period indicated by most of the pottery of the deposit is that of transition at Cosa from the more complicated forms produced in a variety of workshops to simpler forms from a limited number of workshops. The slight evidence of the five pieces of pottery found in the fill of the colonnade (listed in the catalogue as **BB**) may indicate that these shops were not sending their products to Cosa before the earliest possible date for the construction of the colonnade, that is, before ca. 167 B.C. Three of the five pieces in this fill have been identified as Type IV, the local fabric. The two others have black glazes fired red. They have forms typical of Type IV, forms not created in the workshop of Type I, II or III. If the basilica was constructed ca. 140 B.C. and the colonnade was in use sometime before it was partially destroyed by the basilica construction, the colonnade was probably built very soon after 167 B.C. A date near to this for the first importation of Type I, II and III to Cosa would account for their scarcity in the fill of the Capitolium and greater frequency in the fill of the basilica.

DEPOSIT B: CATALOGUE

Beneath the colonnade floor.

BB 1 Base of plate. Pl. XXVI.

Type IV. Clay pink-buff, coarse. Glaze thin black which flakes easily, metallic. Resting surface and inside of foot unglazed. Foot has oblique sides and rounded bottom.

D. of foot, 0.07 m. One example.

BB 2 Base of plate or shallow bowl. Pl. XXVI.

Type IV. Clay orange-buff, hard. Glaze thin black, mottled red near base. Stacking ring. Foot is raised but low and heavy with curving exterior, almost straight interior. Central point. One example has a single row of rouletting on floor.

D. of foot, 0.05 m. Two examples.

BB 3 Bowl with flaring wall. Pl. XXVI.

Clay orange-buff, hard. Glaze black, fired to reddish brown.

D. of rim, 0.16 m. Fragment of one.

BB 4 Small bowl with incurved rim. Pl. VI. Pl. XXVI.

Clay orange-buff, hard. Conspicuous template ridges on exterior. Glaze orange, flakes easily. Shallow bowl, small foot.

H., 0.03 m. D. of rim, 0.09 m. D. of foot, 0.03 m.

Similar form: **A 25**.

See *infra* 184 for discussion of this bowl.

BB 5 Base of bowl. Pl. XXVI.

Type IV. Clay orange-buff, hard. Glaze thin black, metallic, mottled red near base. Foot has straight exterior, oblique interior. Three rows of rouletting on floor. Stacking ring. D. of foot, 0.04 m.

Above the colonnade floor and beneath the basilica floor.

B 6 Plate with horizontal recurving rim. Pl. XXVI.

Type I. Clay orange-red, coarse and soft. Glaze black, slightly metallic. Peels easily. D. of rim, 0.26 m.

Similar form: **B 25**, **C 2**, **16** and **23**, **D 3**, **E 3**.

Similar fabric and form: **C 2**, **16**, **23a** and **b**, **D 3a**.

See *infra* 146 for description of this form in Type I.

RSLig 21 (1955) 274 and 277 fig. 5, Type I, from Vado Ligure; *Ampurias* fig. 185 no. 2, fig. 224 no. 15, fig. 244 no. 2, fig. 294 no. 4, fig. 295 no. 3, fig. 328 no. 8, fig. 344 no. 1, fig. 371 no. 2, fig. 388 no. 2, all examples assigned to first or second half of the second century; *Ceramica Campana* 183 form 36, Type A, examples from Ventimiglia, Saint-Rémy, Ensérune, and Ampurias. Form assigned to third, second, and first centuries. *Ventimiglia* fig. 34 no. 1, fig. 43 no. 1, fig. 47 no. 6, fig. 51 no. 2; *Holwerda* no. 232 pl. 2, from Volterra; *Minturnae* type 41 pls. 5 and 7; W. Van Ingen, *CVA* USA fasc. 3, pl. 32 no. 1 (duplicate from Musée Lavignerie, Carthage), no. 3, said to be from Chiusi; F. Mouret, *CVA* France fasc. 6 pl. 22 nos. 40-41, from Ensérune. *Samaria* 297 8 5d fig. 174 no. 9. Plate is deeper than Cosa examples. R. Pagenstecher, *Die griechischägyptische Sammlung Ernst von Siegelin*, Part 3. "Die Gefässe in Stein und Ton; Knochnschnitzereien" (vol. 2 of *Expedition Ernst von Siegelin. Ausgrabungen in Alexandrien*, ed. Ernst von Siegelin) 151 fig. 161 no. 34. Other examples: from Tuscania (Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese), from Tarquinia (same museum), from Falerii Veteres (Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia in Rome), from Volterra, Type I (Museo Archeologico in Florence), from Populonia, Type I (same museum, sala XXXI), two from Saturnia (same museum, sala XXII), two from Bolsena (same museum, sala XVIII, nos. 76583 and 76585), several from Paestum, Type I (Museo Nazionale di Paestum), one, Type I, in Madrid (Museo Arqueológico Nacional, sala ii, case 23, no. 51).

B 7 Plate with horizontal offset rim. Pl. XXVI.

Clay buff. Glaze firm black, matt.

D. of rim, 0.03 m.

Similar form: **A 6**, **B 26**; **C 1** and **22**; **D 1**; **E 1**.

Bibliography: **A 6**.

B 8 Plate with upturned rim. Pl. XXVI.

Type I. Clay orange, coarse and soft. Glaze black which thins to brown. D. of rim, 0.22 m.

Similar fabric and form: **B 24b**, **C 4a** and **25**, **D 5aI**, **E 5a**.

See *infra* 145 for description of this form in Type I.

B 9 Plate with upturned rim. Pl. XXVI.

Type IV. Clay buff, soft. Glaze thin black which peels easily.

D. of rim, 0.20 m.

Similar fabric and form: **D 5dII**, **E 5dI** and **II**.

See *infra* 175 for description of form in Type IV.

B 10 Base of open form. Unidentified. Pl. VI.

Clay yellow-buff, soft. Glaze blue-black, peels easily. Floor has design in relief; central figure with flowing hair or drapery surrounded by a circle which is lined with an ovolo pattern turned toward the central figure. Traces of metallic white paint on ovolo pattern and central figure.

Dimensions, 0.02 × 0.03 m.

"Calene" pottery. I have not been able to find a very close parallel to this pattern. Cf. an example from Rome in *Rome* 131 and fig. 151.

B 11 Saucer with furrowed rim. Pl. VI. Pl. XXVI.

Type IV. Clay hard red-orange to softer coarser buff. Glaze matt black varying from firm coating to thin grey. Glaze mottled near base. Stacking ring. Four rows of rouletting on the floor of one example.

H., 0.04-0.05 m. D. of rim, 0.18-0.19 m. Fragments of eight.

Similar form: **B 35**, **C 6** and **27**, **D 7**, **E 7**.

Similar fabric and form: **B 35**, **C 6** and **27**, **D 7**, **E 7a**.

Same workshop as **B 11d**: **B 13**.

See *infra* 177 for description of this form in Type IV.

EVP 246, from Montalcino; *Holwerda* no. 243 fig. 5 pl. 11, from Montalcino (same plate); *Ardea* pl. 2 no. 29, example has two grooves inside rim, similar rim form, depressed floor; *Tarsus* no. 40 fig. 179, unstratified; *Antioch IV pt. 1* no. 17 pls. 1 and 2 (given as a variety of "fish plate"); and *Samaria* 297, 8-2 b. Cf. *Athens C* 1 figs. 28, 115 and 116. Form is shallower and heavier than the Cosa examples. It is clearly an earlier example in the same tradition. Group C is assigned to the beginning of the second century. *Dura* 17 no. 97 (grey ware). Examples with similar form: from Tarquinia (Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese), from Tuscania (Museo Archeologico in Florence no. 75310, and Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese), from Talamone (Museo Archeologico in Florence), from Volterra (Museo Guarnacci), from Arezzo (Museo Archeologico Mecenate, no. 1291), from Castiglioncello (Museo Archeologico in Castiglioncello, tomb XL, no. 246).

B 12 Rimless saucer (or plate) with angular wall. Pl. XXVII.

Type IV. Clay orange-buff, hard to soft. Glaze black matt. Examples with better glazes have more rounded lips.

D. of rim, 0.16-0.18 m. Fragments of four.

Similar fabric and form: **C 13**, **17** and **36**, **D 13bII**.

See *infra* 178 for description of this form in Type IV.

Example, Type IV, in the Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese.

B 13 Small bowl with broad ribbon-band rim. Pl. VI. Pl. XXVII.

Type IV. Clay buff. Glaze poor quality black, matt, applied thinly over entire surface. Deep groove on exterior at base of band. Foot has rounded exterior, oblique interior and central turning point. Color of clay, quality and application of glaze, and form of foot indicate that this piece came from the same workshop, perhaps the same hand, as **B 11d** (Pl. XXVI).

H., 0.04 m. D. of rim, 0.07 m. D. of foot, 0.04 m.

Similar form: **A 28** and **29**, **B 43**, **C 9**, **D 11**, **E 10**.

Similar fabric and form: **A 29**, **B 43a**, **C 9a**, **D 11**, **E 10**.

See *infra* 184 for description of this form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form: **A 28**.

B 14 Bowl with incurved rim. Pl. XXVII.

Clay buff, fine, hard and smooth-grained to coarse and granular. Glaze black, iridescent on heavy coarse grained fragment.

D. of rim, 0.14 m. Fragments of four.

Similar form: **A 21-24, B 42, C 30, D 9.**

Bibliography: **A 21.**

B 15 Base of bowl: Pl. XX. Pl. XLIV.

Clay hard orange-buff. Conspicuous template lines on exterior. Glaze black, matt mottled red near base. Foot has rounded exterior, oblique interior. Graffito on exterior of wall.

D. of foot, 0.05 m.

B 16 Base and wall of bowl (?) Pl. XXVII.

Type IV (?) Clay yellow-buff, hard, carelessly worked. Glaze thin black, matt, flakes easily. Probably an overfired example of Type IV.

D. of foot, 0.05 m. Part of foot and wall.

B 17 Base. Pl. XXVII.

Clay orange-buff covered with orange slip. Glaze thin black, matt, mottled orange near base. Foot has very angular interior and narrow resting surface.

D. of foot, 0.08 m.

B 18 Base of bowl. Pl. XXVII.

Clay buff, soft and coarse. Glaze thin black, matt, carelessly applied over entire surface. Unusual form.

D. of foot, 0.04 m.

B 19 Pedestalled foot.

Clay orange-buff, coarse. Glaze firm black. Resting surface unglazed. Interior of body has traces of glaze. Stem is short. Form not clear.

W. of foot, 0.04 m. H. of pedestal, 0.02 m.

B 20 Closed form. Pl. XXVII.

Clay yellow-buff, soft. Glaze thin, matt black on exterior and part of wall on interior. Full form of vessel not clear. Unique.

D. of base, 0.07 m.

B 21 Closed form with furrowed rim. Pl. XXVII.

Clay orange, soft. Glaze thin black fired orange-red. Almost horizontal rim with two furrows on upper surface. Full form not clear. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.08 m.

B 22 Large closed form. Pl. XXVII.

Clay orange-buff, coarse and soft. Glaze black, matt, flakes easily. Interior unglazed. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.18 m. Fragment of rim and neck.

Beneath the basilica floor in the following areas: near the northwest wall below the nave (N 1); near the center of the nave (N 3); in the north corner (NEA 1); and in the northeast aisle not far from the east corner (NEA 6). The number of examples of a form in each area is indicated. In general, the examples of a form are given in descending order according to the quality of the glaze.

B 23 Large plate with upturned rim.

23a Pl. XXVII. Type II or copy. Clay warm buff, hard. Glaze black, slightly metallic. Rim thickened at curve, tapered at lip. Floor of one example has five rows of rouletting bordered by incised circles.

D. of rim, 0.40-0.44 m. Three examples, NEA 1. Four joining fragments of rim and floor of one example which was repaired in antiquity by means of lead wedges, rim of second, foot of third.

Similar fabric, form and size: **D 5b, 6b, E 5bII.**

See *infra* 156 for description of this form in Type II.

23b Pl. XXVII. Type III. Clay buff, soft. Glaze grey-black. Raised foot with angular exterior and oblique interior. Groove in resting surface. Floor has a pattern of concentric circles: two deep ones surrounding two more shallow.

D. of foot, 0.12 m. Fragment of one base, NEA 1.

See *infra* 167 for description of this form Type III.

Bibliography for form **B 23: A 7.**

B 24 Small plate with upturned rim.

24a Pl. XXVII. Clay hard buff. Glaze firm black, thin. Thin floor and rim.

D. of rim, 0.18 m. Fragment of one, N 1; a second, NEA 1; a third, N 3.

Similar form and size: **A 7, B 9, C 4 and 25; D 5b and 6b, E 5b.**

24b Type I. Clay coarse red-brown. Glaze metallic black. Form similar to **a** except that rim is thicker.

D. of rim, 0.18 m. Fragment of one, N 1.

Similar fabric and form: **B 8, C 4a and 25, D 5aI, E 5a.**

See *infra* 145 for description of form in Type I.

Bibliography for form **B 24: A 7.**

B 25 Plate with horizontal recurving rim. Pl. XXVII.

Type IV. Clay coarse buff. Glaze metallic black which flakes easily. Rim less broad and bowl less deep than examples of this form in Type I.

D. of rim, 0.20 m. Fragment of one, N 1.

Similar form: **B 6, C 2, 16 and 23; D 3, E 3.**

Similar fabric and form: **D 3b, E 3.**

See *infra* 176 for description of this form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form: **B 6.**

B 26 Plate with horizontal offset rim. Pl. XXVII.

Type II. Clay hard buff. Glaze firm blue-black.

D. of rim, 0.22-0.36 m. Fragments of five, NEA 1.

Similar form: **A 6, B 7 and 27, C 1 and 22, D 1, E 1.**

Similar fabric and form: **A 6, D 1b, E 1b.**

See *infra* 154 for description of form in Type II.

Bibliography for form: **A 6.**

B 27 Plate with horizontal offset rim. Pl. XXVII.

Clay pink-buff, coarse. Glaze metallic black thinning to red. Distinct offset from rim to body. Rim turns up sharply at lip.

D. of rim, 0.30 m. Fragment of one, NEA 6.

Similar form: **A 6**, **B 7** and **26**, **C 1** and **22**, **D 1**, **E 1**.

Bibliography for form: **A 6**.

B 28 Plate with horizontal rim which forks at lip. Pl. XXVII.

Type IV. Clay hard buff with rough template marks. Glaze dull black. Unique. D. of rim, 0.24 m. Fragment of one, NEA 6.

See *infra* 176 for discussion of this form.

Example from Chiusi (Museo Archeologico in Florence, no. 75188). Cf. plate or shallow bowl with forked lip: *Tarsus* no. 134 figs. 127 and 183, from top level of Middle Hellenistic Unit, which is dated third century, beginning of second.

Cf. form in impasto: J. D. Beazley and F. Magi. *op. cit.* (**A 6**) 149 no. 83 fig. 36 and pl. 45, in bucchero: example from Bolsena (Museo Archeologico in Florence, sala XVIII), six from Chiusi (same museum, two in sala XLV, four on *terzo piano*, sala X).

B 29 Base of large plate. Pl. XXVII.

Type I. Clay pink-buff, coarse. Glaze black, peels easily. Glaze covers entire surface. Low broad foot with vertical exterior and slightly oblique anterior. Two large concentric circles incised in floor.

D. of foot, 0.08 m. One example, NEA 6.

See *infra* 143 for description of forms of Type I.

B 30 Floor of plate. Pl. VII.

Type II. Clay buff. Glaze blue-black. Pattern on center of floor of small depressed circle and central knob. This pattern is common in Type II.

Dimensions, 0.05 × 0.03 m. Fragment of floor, N 3.

See *infra* 153 for description of forms of Type II.

B 31 Base of plate. Pl. XXVII.

Type II. Clay soft buff. Glaze blue-black mottled red near base. High raised foot which turns outward at bottom, rises obliquely to floor on interior. On floor five rows of tiny hatched lines bordered by slightly depressed circles.

D. of foot, 0.08 m. Fragment of base, N 3.

See *infra* 153 for description of forms of Type II.

B 32 Base of plate. Pl. XXVIII.

Type I. Clay red-brown. Glaze metallic black over entire surface. Two examples. One has a raised foot which turns outward on exterior, curves on interior. Groove on interior near floor. Cf. **D 6f**, a more elaborate version of this shape. The other example has a level floor with oblique side.

D. of foot, 0.04 m. First example, N 1; second, NEA 6.

See *infra* 143 for discussion of forms of Type I.

B 33 Base of open form. Pl. XXVIII.

Clay buff, flaky. Glaze firm black over entire surface. High profiled foot. Knob on floor and sharp central point on inside of foot. Unique.

D. of foot, 0.04 m. One example, NEA 1.

B 34 Plate (or saucer) with re-entrant rim. Pl. XXVIII.

Type I. Clay red-brown, coarse. Glaze black. Rim turns up very slightly. D. of rim, 0.20 m. Fragment of one, NEA 1.

Similar fabric and form: **C 3** and **24**, **D 5aII**.

See *infra* 146 for description of form in Type I.

RS Lig 20 (1954) 121 fig. 45, from Castiglioncello; *Ceramica Campana* 196 form 55 Type A, example from Minturnae; *Ventimiglia* fig. 34 no. 17, fig. 48 no. 6; *Minturnae* type 40 pl. 7; C. L. Woolley *op. cit.* (**A 21**) 202 fig. 38 no. 5, from Cales; *Antioch IV pt. 1* no. 1, especially profile 1 u. Example from Volterra (Museo Archeologico in Florence, sala XXXII).

Form in bucchero; P. Matteucig *op. cit.* (**A 6**) pl. 17 no. 1, pl. 21 nos. 14, 21-24, from Poggio Buco; J. D. Beazley and F. Magi *op. cit.* (**A 6**) 149 no. 82, fig. 35 and pl. 45. Cf. S. Gsell, *Fouilles dans la Nécropole de Vulci* (Rome 1891) 474 form 179. Gsell thought that this form was peculiar to the fabric of Vulci.

B 35 Saucer with furrowed rim. Pl. XXVIII.

Type IV. Clay orange to buff, hard. Glaze thin black, dull or metallic. D. of rim, 0.18-0.28 m. Fragments of seven, NEA 1; fragments of two, N 3.

Similar form: **B 11**, **C 6** and **27**, **D 7**, **E 7**.

Similar fabric and form: **B 11**, **C 6** and **27**, **D 7**, **E 7a**.

Bibliography for form: **B 11**.

See *infra* 177 for description of form in Type IV.

B 36 Bowl with outturned rim.

36a Pl. VIII. Pl. XXVIII. Type IV. Clay buff. Rough lines of turning on exterior. Glaze firm to thin. One example (NEA 6) has a horizontal rim; six with softer clay and thinner glaze more rounded rims (fragments of two, N 1; of one, NEA 6; of three, NEA 1). D. of rim, 0.16-0.17 m.

Similar fabric and form: **B 37d**, **C 7b**, **18**, and **28b**, **D 8dI** and **III**, **13bI**, **E 8d**.

See *infra* 179 for description of this form in Type IV.

36b Pl. XXVIII. Type III. Clay grey with impurities, soft or hard. Glaze dull black which peels very easily. Shallow curving body and rounded lip. D. of rim, 0.18 m. Fragments of two, NEA 1.

Similar fabric and form: **C 7a** and **28a**, **D 8cI** and **II**, **E 8bI** and **III**.

See *infra* 168 for description of this form in Type III.

Bibliography for forms **B 36a** and **b**: **A 14**.

36c Pl. VIII. Pl. XXVIII. "Megarian" bowl. Clay buff with impurities. Roughly finished surface. Glaze thin black, slightly metallic. Angular rim. Relief pattern of simplified guilloche 0.03 m. below lip. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.16 m. One fragment, NEA 1.

F. Benoit, "L'Archéologie sous-marine en Provence," *RS Lig* 18 (1952) fig. 15, bowl found in recent excavations of the "boat of Sestius" in the sea near Marseilles. This bowl has a guilloche in the upper zone, but not in the top register. The "boat of Sestius" has

been assigned, on the basis of its black glaze pottery and amphorae, to 160-150 B.C. (*RSLig* 20 (1954) 226). F. Benoît, "Recherches archéologiques dans la région d'Aix-en-Provence, I. Les fouilles d'Entremont en 1946," *Gallia* 5 (1947) 82 fig. 2, guilloche in top register. M. Schwabacher, "Hellenistische Reliefkeramik im Kerameikos," *AJA* 45 (1941) pl. 1 A 1 (Megara) and B 10 (Athens, National Museum), pl. 2 A 1 (Megara) B 8 and B 12 (both Ceramicus), pl. 4 A 9 A 13 B 18 (all Ceramicus), pl. 5 B 10 (Athens, National Museum), pl. 6 B 14 B 16 B 21 B 26 (all Ceramicus), pl. 8 B 14 and B 15 (both Ceramicus). P. V. C. Baur, "Megarian Bowls in the Rebecca Darlington Stoddard Collection of Greek and Italian Vases in Yale University," *AJA* 45 (1941) no. 198 fig. 3 and pl. 11, assigned to Athenian fabric. *Athens* C 16 fig. 34, C 19 fig. 37, C 23 fig. 41, D 34 fig. 65. Thompson (*Athens* 455 ff.) considers C 16 among the earliest of the Megarian bowls in the Athenian series. The pottery of Group D is ascribed to the middle of the second century. H. Thompson, "The Excavation of the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 161 fig. 5, bowl found in a cistern. R. Edwards, *Small Objects from the Pnyx: II, Hesperia: Supplement X: "Hellenistic Pottery"* (Princeton 1956) 90 footnote 12, states that this filling is now dated in the last quarter of the third century. Edwards, *op. cit.* pl. 35 nos. 1 and 2, pl. 37 no. 16, pl. 40 and pl. 51 no. 32, pl. 45 nos. 67 and 70. He writes (90) "It seems likely, on the evidence now available, that Megarian bowls were first manufactured around the middle of the third century B.C." The guilloche does not appear in the top register of examples from Athens. See *Tarsus* fig. 14 no. 14 and *Antioch I* 67 pl. 14c for a guilloche in the top register. The guilloche of the Athenian examples, however, is closer to the Cosa one. F. Courby, *Les Vases grecs à reliefs* (Paris 1922) fig. 68 no. 7.

B 37 Rimless bowl with oblique wall.

37a Clay hard orange-buff. Glaze dull black. Thin wall.

D. of rim, 0.09 m. One fragment, N 1.

Similar fabric: **B 42a**.

Similar in form to **B 37d** (Type IV).

37b Pl. XXVIII. Type I. Clay coarse red-brown. Glaze black, metallic. Narrow white strip encircles interior just below lip.

D. of rim, 0.14 m. Fragment of one, N 1; of two, NEA 1.

Similar fabric and form: **C 29a**, **D 13aI**, **E 9aI**.

See *infra* 151 for description of this form in Type I.

37c Type I. Clay coarse pink. Glaze thin black, poor quality.

D. of rim, 0.14 m. One fragment, NEA 6.

Similar fabric and form: **B 39**, **C 8** and **29a**, **D 9a** and **13aII**, **E 9aII**.

See *infra* 150 for description of this form in Type I.

37d Pl. XXVIII. Type IV. Clay hard buff. Glaze thin black which peels along rough turning lines. Bowl flares outward to lip.

D. of rim, 0.16-0.18 m. Fragments of four, N 1; of five, N 3, of seven, NEA 1; of five, NEA 6.

Similar fabric and form: **B 36a**, **C 7b**, **18** and **28b**, **D 8dI** and **III**, **13bI**, **E 8d**

See *infra* 179 for description of this form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form **B 37**: **A 18**.

B 38 Rimless bowl with angular wall.

Type IV. Clay buff, hard. Glaze black. Encircling groove on exterior just below lip. D. of rim, 0.14 m. Fragment of one, NEA 1.

Similar fabric and form: **A 18**, **C 10a** and **b**, **19a**, **20b**, **E 11**.

See *infra* 180 for description of this form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form: **A 18**.

B 39 Rimless bowl with curved wall. Pl. XXVIII.

Type I. Clay red-brown, coarse. Glaze metallic black. Rim thickened and flattened at an angle on top. Form peculiar to Type I.

D. of rim, 0.15 m. Fragments of two, NEA 1.

Similar fabric and form: **B 37c**, **C 8** and **29a**, **D 9a** and **13aII**, **E 9aII**.

See *infra* 150 for description of this form in Type I.

Bibliography for form: **A 18**.

B 40 Shallow rimless bowl. Pl. VIII. Pl. XXVIII.

Type III. Clay soft grey. Glaze dull thin black over entire surface. High foot which curves outward near bottom. Pattern on floor of two concentric circles close to center and two more almost over circle of foot. A similar pattern on shallow bowls of Type II in Deposit D.

H., 0.04 m. D. of rim, 0.15 m. D. of foot, 0.06 m. Fragment of one, N 1; of another, NEA 1.

See *infra* 169 for description of this form in Type III.

B 41 Bowl with broad foot and curved wall.

41a Pl. XXVIII. Type II. Clay buff. Glaze firm black. Two encircling grooves on exterior just below rim.

D. of rim, 0.16 m. Fragment of one, NEA 1.

Similar fabric and form: **D 16a**, **E 14a**.

41b Clay buff, coarser than **B 41a**. Glaze metallic black. Body deeper and less curving than **B 41a**. Encircling grooves separated by a narrow band.

D. of rim, 0.15 m. Fragments of two, NEA 1.

Similar form: **D 16**. **E 14**.

Bibliography for form **B 41**: *Ceramica Campana* 143 form 1 Type B, examples from Rome Ventimiglia, Gergovie, Ampurias, Azaila, San Miguel de Sorba; *Ventimiglia* fig. 20 nos. 35-36, fig. 23 no. 4, fig. 27 no. 13, fig. 35 nos. 26-27, 35, fig. 44 no. 7, fig. 47 no. 10, fig. 48 no. 8, fig. 52 no. 5, fig. 55 nos. 5-6, fig. 110 no. 2; D. Levi, "Le necropoli puniche di Olbia" *Studi Sardi* 9 (1950) pl. 15b: F 8; *CVH* pl. 59 nos. 9-10, 12-13; J.-J. Hatt, "Les fouilles de Gergovie" (1943-44) *Gallia* 5 (1947) 293 fig. 7 no. 16; *Holwerda* no. 240 fig. 5; F. Mouret, *CVA France* fasc. 6 pl. 22 no. 44 from Ensérune. Example in the Museo Arqueológico in Madrid (*sala* 1, case 12).

B 42 Bowl with slightly incurved rim.

42a Pl. XXVIII. Clay hard orange-buff. Glaze firm black. Thin wall.

D. of rim, 0.14 m. Fragment of one, NEA 1.

Similar fabric: **B 37a**.

42b Pl. XXVIII. Clay buff. Glaze black, thinner and more metallic than **B 42a**.

D. of rim, 0.13 m. Fragment of two, N 1.

42c Pl. XXVIII. Type I. Clay coarse red-brown. Glaze metallic black. Heavy wall.

D. of rim, 0.15 m. Fragments of two, NEA 1; of one, N 1.

Similar fabric and form: **A 22**, **D 10a** and **26aI** and **II**.

See *infra* 148 for description of this form in Type I.

- 42d** Type III. Clay hard grey, roughly finished. Glaze dull grey. Glaze on interior and upper part of exterior.

D. of rim, 0.18 m. Fragment of one, NEA 1.

Similar fabric and form (?): **A 24**.

See *infra* 170 for description of this form in Type III.

- 42e** Pl. XXVIII. Type IV. Clay buff, hard. Glaze dull black which peels readily along turning lines. Curve of rim slight. Wall irregular.

D. of rim, 0.18 m. Fragments of three, NEA 1; of one, N 1.

Similar fabric and form: **A 21**, **C 30**, **D 9e**.

See *infra* 183 for description of this form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form **B 42**: **A 21**.

B 43 Small bowl with broad ribbon-band rim.

- 43a** Pl. XXVIII. Type IV. Clay orange-buff, hard. Glaze black which peels easily. Groove on exterior at base of band.

D. of rim, 0.07 m. Fragments of two, N 1.

Similar fabric and form: **A 29**, **B 13**, **C 9a**, **D 11**, **E 10**.

See *infra* 184 for description of this form in Type IV.

- 43b** Clay soft light buff. Glaze very thin black mottled orange. Wall curves inward less than **B 43a**.

D. of rim, 0.06 m. Fragment of one, N 1.

Bibliography for form **B 43**: **A 28**.

B 44 Foot of bowl. Unstamped.

- 44a** Type IV. Clay buff to orange-buff, generally hard. Glaze thin black, mottled red near base. Low rounded exterior and oblique interior. Slight turning point.

D. of foot, 0.04-0.05 m. Two examples, N 1; two, N 3; three, NEA 1; three, NEA 6.

- 44b** Pl. XXVIII. Type II (?) Clay hard buff. Glaze blue-black. Foot and area above on exterior (0.007 m. in height above foot) reserved. Foot is low and oblique on both sides. Fragment seems to belong to Type II but full form of vessel is not clear and identification is not certain.

D. of foot, 0.06 m. Fragment of one, N 1.

- 44c** Pl. XXVIII. Type I. Clay soft pink-brown. Glaze black over entire surface. Stacking ring. Foot has rounded exterior and oblique interior.

D. of foot, 0.05 m. Fragment of one, NEA 6.

- 44d** Pl. XXVIII. Clay hard orange-buff. Conspicuous template marks. Glaze black with band of red 0.01 m. in width above base. Stacking ring. Crude circle 0.025 m. in diameter incised on floor. Unique form.

D. of foot, 0.05 m. One example, N 1.

- 44e** Pl. XXVIII. Clay hard grey. Glaze grey-black, slightly iridescent. Raised foot with angular exterior and oblique interior.

D. of foot, 0.05 m. One example, NEA 1.

- 44f** Clay hard buff. Glaze thin black over entire surface. Form and dimensions similar to **B 44a**. One example, N 1; a second, NEA 6.

B 45 Pitcher (?) Pl. XXIX.

Type II (?) Clay hard buff. Glaze blue-black. Rough finish of interior suggests that fragment may be from the neck of a pitcher.

D. of rim, 0.05 m. One fragment, NEA 1.

Similar form: **D 21c**, **E 18a**.

See *infra* 162 for discussion of this form in Type II.

B 46 Rim of closed form. Pl. XXIX.

Type III. Clay medium gray. Glaze dull black thinning to grey. Full form not clear.

D. of rim, 0.10 m. One fragment, NEA 1.

See *infra* 164 for description of forms of Type III.

B 47 Rim and neck of closed form. Pl. VII. Pl. XXIX.

Type IV. Clay buff. Glaze dull black which peels easily. Rim of broad band (0.023 m. in width). Two encircling lines incised on the exterior of the rim near its center. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.12 m. One fragment, NEA 1.

See *infra* 187 for discussion of forms of Type IV.

Cf. *Tarsus* fig. 195 no. 538, black-glazed "Pergamene" ware.

B 48 Form with spout.

Clay buff. Glaze firm black on exterior and interior. Interior of body unglazed. L. of nozzle, 0.04 m. One example, NEA 1.

B 49 Pitcher with strainer. Pl. VII. Pl. XXIX.

Clay very coarse pink-buff, flaky. Glaze metallic black, poor quality. Neck with flaring rim. Full body with rounded shoulder. Handle elliptical in cross-section, has upper attachment on neck, lower on shoulder. Strainer at base of neck.

Preserved H., 0.06 m. D. of neck, 0.04 m. D. of body at base of handle, 0.11 m. Fragment preserves neck, handle, shoulder and top of body. One example, NEA 1.

B 50 Large pitcher. Pl. XXIX.

Type IV. Clay coarse pink-buff which flakes easily. Glaze dull black on exterior and on interior of neck. Ridge on exterior at base of neck. Full form not clear.

Preserved H., 0.07 m. Six pieces, three joining of one example, NEA 6.

See *infra* 173 for discussion of forms of Type IV.

B 51 Large pitcher. Pl. XXIX.

Type IV (?) Clay buff, coarse and thick with broad lines of turning on interior. Glaze thin black fired brown and orange. Glaze covers exterior surface and interior of spout. Foot low and broad with wide resting surface. Long angular spout which flares at end. Full form not clear.

D. of foot, 0.09 m. Seven pieces of one example, NEA 6.

See *infra* 187 for discussion of forms of Type IV.

B 52 Lid.

52a Pl. XXIX. Type II (?) Clay buff. Glaze firm black, iridescent on bottom. Bottom has a pattern in center of small central circle surrounded by two larger ones. Similar pattern appears on the floor of the shallow pedestalled vase of Type II but angle of rim of this fragment identifies it as a lid, not a pedestalled form.

D. of rim, 0.10 m. One fragment, NEA 1.

See *infra* 163 for discussion of form in Type II.

52b Pl. XXIX. Type III. Clay hard grey. Glaze black. Top missing.

D. of rim, 0.12 m. One fragment, NEA 1.

Similar form: **D 30**, **E 21b**.

See *infra* 172 for discussion of form in Type III.

DEPOSIT C: INTRODUCTION

In 1952 and 1953 a building, originally the Atrium Publicum, immediately northwest of the basilica and the forum colonnade was excavated. During its periods of occupation it had been rebuilt several times with the result that early sealed levels were rare. In one section, and one only, a stratified area produced a clearly defined deposit of black-glaze pottery. Section 16, adjacent to the northwest basilica wall near its center, had four levels. The section was ca. 6.35 × 5.40 m. Level I ended in a rammed earth floor, much broken, and missing in the south and east corners of the room. There were traces of burning and two large segments of the fallen northwest wall of the basilica just above the earth floor. Level II extended to a pavement of soft signinum a little more than 0.10 m. below the earth floor of Level I. In the north corner of the room, on the level of this pavement, was a tile hearth. The level was thick with signs of burning, red and black spotted earth and bits of carbonized wood. This level was almost sterile. Level III was partly a dark grey fill on which the pavement was laid, partly virgin earth covering bedrock. It varied in depth from ca. 0.20 m. to ca. 0.45 m. There were traces of fire here also. In the southeast half of the room this level was a hardpan of bright red earth and rock outcroppings with rough waste mortar casts on its surface. In the middle of the southeast wall was a deep bed of pure slaked lime, evidently the remains of a lime pit used in the building of the northwest wall of the basilica. The lime had sunk into the top of a refuse pit which was about three meters in length, two in width, and a meter and a half in depth. Below the level of the lime was Level IV.

Of these four levels the first produced great quantities of pottery, including some pieces of black glaze, some showing a transition from black to red, some of red glaze. Level II had no black glaze. Level III contained a few pieces of Arretine and a quantity of black glaze of good quality. Eight pieces of the latter join with fragments from Level IV, a level rich in black glaze sherds and devoid of red glazes. These joining fragments and the duplication of forms in

the two levels indicate that they represent the same occupation period. The fallen basilica wall must have covered all the levels and sealed Levels III and IV very securely. The former eventually received a few pieces of Arretine which had sifted down through breaks in the signinum floor. The black-glaze pottery of the two lower levels of Section 16 comprises Deposit C.

It is clear that not all the pottery of Level III of Deposit C is exactly contemporary with the pottery of Level IV but, since several of the forms are represented in both levels, some of them forms reconstructed from pieces joining across levels, it is impossible to assign a date to each level. The pottery of Level IV is homogeneous and it may well represent the tableware of a single family. This is less clear in the fragments of Level III.

There is little external evidence for dating this group. No datable coins were found in Levels III or IV or, in fact, in any level of the room. A Rhodian stamped amphora handle (CE 1350) in Level IV has been dated ca. 220-180 B.C. The lamps found in Level IV are all wheel-made. The two types, sixteen examples of one and one of the other, are both represented in the Capitulum Fill and the commoner in the Basilica Fill. Level III contained fragments of two wheel-made lamps which correspond to the types found in Level IV and fragments of three wheel-made ones comparable to examples in Deposits B and D.

The pottery itself gives the clearest evidence of its relative date. It has several forms and fabrics in common with the pottery found in the fill between the basilica and colonnade floors (Deposit B, ca. 167-140 B.C.) and the fill of the basilica in its other areas (also Deposit B, *terminus ante quem* ca. 140 B.C.). It has few forms in common with Deposit A. Some of the similarities between the pottery of Deposits A and C occur in the forms of Types I and II, forms which must be among the latest in Deposit A. Deposit C duplicates only two stamp patterns found in Deposit A. It has some, but not many forms in common with Deposit D. Almost all the similarities between the two deposits occur in the forms of Types I, II, and III, the fabrics which swamped the market in the last part of the second century.

Since the pottery of Deposit C has little in common with Deposit A it cannot overlap that deposit much, if at all. The close similarity of the fabrics and forms of Level IV of Deposit C with those of the fill between the colonnade and basilica floors indicates that the material in Level IV accumulated after the colonnade was constructed, that is, after, but not long after, ca. 167 B.C. and before the basilica was built, that is, before ca. 140 B.C. (See introduction to Deposit B.) Since Section 16 adjoins the basilica wall in an area near the colonnade, Deposit C, that is, Levels III and IV of the section, probably represents the period of the colonnade's use before it was altered by the construction of the basilica. This interval, that is, ca. 167 - ca. 140 B.C. for Deposit C would not be inconsistent with the earlier date of the Rhodian amphora stamp found in Level IV. Dr. Grace has informed me that Rhodian stamps often date earlier than the rest of the pottery with which they are found. Although

no coins were discovered in Levels III and IV, the coins found in the block of the Atrium Publicum and its adjacent shops testify that this area of the city was occupied during the interval suggested for Deposit C.

DEPOSIT C: CATALOGUE

Level III

C 1 Large plate with horizontal offset rim.

- 1a** Type III. Clay soft grey. Glaze dull thin black. Rim turns upward at lip. D. of rim, 0.20 m.

Similar fabric and form: **D 1cI, II and III, E 1c.**
See *infra* 166 for description of form in Type III.

- 1b** Type IV. Clay coarse buff. Rough lines on surface. Glaze firm black. Rim form similar to those of Type II. Floor of plate is deeper. D. of rim, 0.18-0.24 m. Fragments of three rims.

Similar fabric and form: **D 1dI, E 1e.**
See *infra* 174 for description of form in Type IV.

- 1c** Pl. XXX. Clay pink-buff, hard. Glaze black thinned to red on edges. Broad curving rim. Thin wall. D. of rim, 0.26 m.

Similar fabric and form: **C 22b.**

Bibliography for form **C 1: A 6.**

C 2 Plate with horizontal recurving rim.

Type I. Clay orange-red. Glaze black, slightly metallic. D. of rim, 0.22 m. Two fragments, probably same plate.

Similar fabric and form: **B 6, C 16 and 23a and b, D 3a.**
See *infra* 146 for description of this form in Type I.
Bibliography for form: **B 6.**

C 3 Plate (or saucer) with re-entrant rim. Pl. XXX.

Type I. Clay brown-red. Glaze black. D. of rim, 0.26 m.

Similar fabric and form: **B 34, C 24, D 5aII.**
See *infra* 146 for description of this form in Type I.
Bibliography for form: **B 34.**

C 4 Plate with upturned rim.

- 4a** Type I. Clay red, granular. Glaze metallic black. Oblique rim, slightly upturned. D. of rim, 0.22 (?) m. Fragment of one. Similar fabric and form: **B 8 and 24b, C 25, D 5aI, E 5a.**
See *infra* 145 for description of this form in Type I.

- 4b** Type II. Clay buff. Glaze firm black. Curving rim; oblique wall. Concentric circles on floor.

D. of rim, 0.30 m. Six fragments, four joining, two joining.

Similar fabric and form: **A 7**, **C 25**, **D 5b** and **6b**, **E 5bI**.

See *infra* 156 for description of this form in Type II.

Bibliography for form **C 4**: **A 7**.

C 5 Base of plate (or saucer).

Type IV. Clay buff, fired unevenly. Glaze black mottled red near base. Stacking ring. Foot has rounded exterior, oblique interior. Central turning point. Single row of rouletting on floor of one.

D. of foot, 0.06 m. Two bases of same workshop or potter.

C 6 Saucer with furrowed rim.

Type IV. Clay orange-buff, fired unevenly. Glaze black. Cf. **C 27b** for identical form.

H., 0.04 m. D. of rim, 0.18 m. D. of foot, 0.06 m. Fragments of three; five joining pieces of one of them.

Similar fabric and form: **B 11** and **35**, **C 27**, **D 7**, **E 7a**.

See *infra* 177 for description of form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form: **B 11**.

C 7 Bowl with outturned rim.

- 7a** Type III. Clay medium grey. Glaze thin dull black.

D. of rim, 0.16 m. Fragment of one.

Similar fabric and form: **B 36b**, **C 28a**, **D 8cI** and **II**, **E 8bI** and **III**.

See *infra* 168 for description of form in Type III.

- 7b** Pl. XXX. Type IV. Clay yellow buff, hard. Glaze black misfired red. Small torus rim.

D. of rim, 0.18 m. Fragments of two examples, six joining pieces of one, two joining pieces of the other.

Similar fabric and form: **B 37d**, **C 18** and **28b**, **D 8dIII**.

See *infra* 179 for description of form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form **C 7**: **B 36**.

C 8 Rimless bowl with curved wall.

Type I. Fragments of lips and walls of two. Piece with better glaze has coarse orange clay, granular. It has the thickened lip peculiar to Type I. The other piece has pink clay, compact and hard.

D. of rim, 0.14-0.16 m.

Similar fabric and form: **B 37c** and **39**, **C 29a**, **D 9a** and **13aII**, **E 9aII**.

See *infra* 150 for description of form in Type I.

Bibliography for form: **A 18**.

C 9 Bowl with broad ribbon-band rim.

- 9a** Pl. VII. Type IV. Hard orange clay. Glaze black, mottled red near base and on edges. Foot raised, oblique sides and central turning point.

H., 0.05 m. D. of rim, 0.07 m. D. of foot, 0.04 m. Fragment of one.

Similar fabric and form: **A 29** and **30** (?), **B 13** and **43a**, **D 11**, **E 10**.
See *infra* 184 for description of form in Type IV.

- 9b** Clay buff, coarse. Glaze dull thin black.
D. of foot, 0.03 m. Fragments of two.

Similar form: **A 29** and **30** (?), **B 13** and **43**, **D 11**, **E 10**.
Bibliography for form **C 9**: **A 29**.

C 10 Rimless bowl with angular wall.

Type IV. Clay hard pink-buff. Glaze firm black with high sheen. Decoration of encircling incised lines on exterior 0.028 m. below rim.

D. of rim, 0.17 m. Fragment of one.

Similar in fabric and form: **A 18**, **B 38**, **C 19a** and **29b**, **E 11**.

Bibliography for form: **A 18**.

See *infra* 180 for description of form in Type IV.

C 11 Pyxis.

Type II. Clay hard buff. Glaze firm black. High rounded foot.

D. of foot, 0.103 m. Fragment of one.

Similar form: **C 34**, **D 19**, **E 17**.

Similar fabric and form: **C 34**, **D 19a**, **E 17a**.

See *infra* 161 for description of form in Type II.

F. Benoît, "L'Archéologie sous-marine en Provence," *RS Lig* 18 (1952) fig. 19, examples found in the recent excavations of the "boat of Sestius" in the sea near Marseilles; *Ceramica Campana* 145 form 3 Type B, examples from Ensérune and Ventimiglia, 158 form 3 Type C, example from the Museo Nazionale in Syracuse, another in the Museo Archeológico in Barcelona (from Ampurias) 166 form 3 Type A, example from Ventimiglia. (The pyxides (*sic*) from Minturnae to which Lamboglia refers in *Ceramica Campana* 167 are rings, not pyxides). *Ventimiglia* fig. 27 no. 14, fig. 28 no. 28, fig. 35 no. 31, fig. 51 no. 6, fig. 55 no. 12, fig. 97 no. 2. D. Levi "Le necropoli puniche di Olbia," *Studi Sardi* 9 (1950) pl. 15a: F 26; *EVP* 245 v "salt-cellsars": no. 1 pl. 38, 11. Beazley assigns this example, which has a blue-black glaze, to the Malacena fabric, a name given to a group of pottery which came primarily from Calini Sepus a Malacena near Monteriggioni. He lists, in addition, examples from Vetulonia, one from Sovana, one from Bettona. M. Almagro, "Estratigrafica de la ciudad helenístico-romana de Ampurias," *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 20 (1947) fig. 13; *CVH* pl. 59 nos. 26 and 30, from Azaila; F. Mouret, *CVA* France fasc. 6 pl. 14 no. 8, from Ensérune; C. L. Woolley *op. cit.* (**A 21**) 202 fig. 38 no. 9; *NS* (1903) 221 fig. 4 no. 9, from Sovana. Example from Talamone, Type II (Museo Archeologico in Florence, no. 10552), from Saturnia (same museum), from Tuscania (same museum, no. 92) from Tarquinia (Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese), from Arezzo (Museo Archeologico Mecenate, nos. 1252 and 1339), from Castiglioncello (Museo Archeologico in Castiglioncello), from Volterra (Museo Guarnacci, *camera* 9).

C 12 Pitcher

Clay hard buff. Glaze dull thin black on upper part of body and neck. Interior unglazed. Take-off of bottom of ribbon handle at shoulder. Full form not clear.

Dimensions, 0.13 × 0.06 m. Three joining pieces of shoulder and body.

C 13 Rimless saucer (or plate) with angular wall.

Type IV. Clay hard pink-orange. Glaze firm black.

D. of rim, 0.22 m. Fragment of one.

Similar fabric and form: **B 12, C 17** and **36, D 13bII**.

See *infra* 178 for description of this form in Type IV.

C 14 Base.

14a Type III. Clay hard grey. Glaze thin dull black. Foot high, rounded exterior, oblique interior.

D. of foot, 0.05 m. Fragment of one.

14b Type IV. Clay orange-pink, granular. Glaze black, slightly metallic. Stacking ring. Foot rounded on exterior, oblique on interior. On floor crude rows of rouletting surround faint palmette stamps.

D. of foot, 0.06 m.

14c Pl. XXX. Type IV (?). Clay hard pink. Glaze black, mottled red, on exterior only. Low foot with rounded exterior, oblique interior.

D. of foot, 0.03 m.

C 15 Molded figurine. Pl. VII.

Type III. Clay soft thick grey. Glaze dull black thinning to red-brown. Base of hollow figurine. Right leg, relaxed at knee, and fall of drapery of standing female figure. Figure stands 0.03 m. from bottom of molded form. Double row of bullseyes just below figure. A separate piece, position on figurine not clear, has a double row of dots near one edge. Three joining pieces from Level I of Room 16 and one, non-joining, from Level III. Figurine may not belong in Group C.

H., 0.09 m. W., 0.04 m.

Level III - Level IV

(examples which have a piece or pieces in Level III joining with piece or pieces in Level IV).

C 16 Plate (shallow bowl) with horizontal recurving rim. Pl. VII. Pl. XXX.

Type I. Foot low, straight exterior, oblique interior.

H., 0.05 m. D. of rim, 0.20 m. D. of foot, 0.07 m. Three joining fragments.

Similar fabric and form: **B 6, C 2, 23a** and **b, D 3a**.

See *infra* 146 for description of form in Type I.

Bibliography for form: **B 6**.

C 17 Rimless saucer with angular wall. Pl. XXX.

Type IV. Clay hard orange-buff with rough lines of finish on surface. Glaze firm black with high sheen. Angular profile. On floor two incised concentric circles.

D. of rim, 0.21 m. Seven fragments, four joining.

Similar fabric and form: **B 12, C 13** and **36, D 13bII**.

See *infra* 178 for description of form in Type IV.

C 18 Bowl with flaring wall. Pl. XXX.

Type IV. Clay hard orange. Glaze thin dull black. Rim turns outward.

D. of rim, 0.17 m. Four joining pieces of one, fragment of second.

Similar fabric and form: **B 36a** and **37d, C 7b** and **28b, D 8dI** and **III, E 8d**.

See *infra* 179 for description of form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form: **A 18**.

C 19 Rimless bowl with angular wall.

19a Type IV. Clay hard orange, unevenly fired. Glaze thin dull black, mottled red near base. Grooves on exterior just below rim.

D. of rim, 0.18 m. Two joining pieces.

Similar fabric and form: **A 18**, **B 38**, **C 10a** and **b** and **29b**, **E 11**.

See *infra* 180 for description of form in Type IV.

19b Clay buff. Glaze black thinned to brown. Similar in form to **C 19a**.

D. of rim, 0.13 m. Two joining pieces.

Bibliography for form **C 19a** and **b**: **A 18**.

19c Pl. XXX. Type IV. Clay hard pink-buff, unevenly fired. Glaze black with high sheen, mottled red near base. Broad horizontal floor, vertical wall. Grooves on exterior just below lip. Foot has angular exterior, oblique interior. Graffito on floor (see pl. XLIV). Clay and glaze similar to **C 10b**.

H., 0.06 m. D. of rim, 0.09 m. D. of foot, 0.05 m. Two joining pieces.

Similar form: **A 19**, **D 12**.

See *infra* 181 for description of form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form: **A 19**.

C 20 Bowl with outturned rim. Pl. IX. Pl. XXX.

Type II. Clay orange, fine and hard. Glaze blue-black, good quality. Glaze covers entire surface. Low outturned foot with groove in resting surface. Flattened rim, full curving body. Two encircling grooves on exterior of rim. Pattern on floor of small central circle surrounded by four crude palmettes which, in turn, are enclosed in large concentric circles and fine rouletting.

H., 0.06 m. D. of rim, 0.18 m. D. of foot, 0.06 m. Two joining pieces, one non-joining.

See *infra* 157 for description of this form in Type II.

Ceramica Campana 148 form 8 Type B, example from Ampurias.

C 21 Spout of large closed form.

Clay coarse buff. Glaze firm black on exterior. Base of large spout (0.04 m. at base) opening off side of large coarse vessel.

Dimensions, 0.06 × 0.10 m.

Level IV

C 22 Plate with horizontal offset rim.

22a Clay coarse buff. Glaze firm black, metallic. Rim turns upward at edge. Deep bowl. D. of rim, 0.22 m. Fragment of one.

Similar form: **B 7** and **26**, **C 1**, **D 1b**, **E 1b**.

22b Clay pink-buff, hard. Glaze black thinned to red on edges. Rim turns downward in wide vertical band. Clay and glaze similar to **C 1c**. Form similar to **C 22a**.

D. of rim, 0.20 m. Fragment of one.

22c Clay buff, rather soft. Glaze black which peels easily. Deep bowl. Similar in fabric to Type IV.

D. of rim, 0.20-0.22 m. Fragments of two.

Similar form: **C 1b**, **D 1d1**, **E 1c**.

- 22d** Pl. XXX. Clay buff, hard and flaky. Glaze thin black, almost gone. Shallow bowl. Low broad foot, offset, with oblique exterior and interior. Groove on resting surface. Bottom of foot fired red. On floor large circle and rouletting. Unique in fabric. Rim form similar to **C 1c**.

H., 0.04 m. D. of rim, 0.22 m. D. of foot, 0.07 m. Seven pieces; five joining, two joining.

Bibliography for form **C 22: A 6**.

C 23 Plate with horizontal recurving rim.

- 23a** Type I. Clay orange-red. Glaze firm black.
D. of rim, 0.20 m. Fragments of three.

Similar fabric and form: **B 6, C 2** and **16, D 3a**.

See *infra* 146 for description of form in Type I.

- 23b** Type I (or good imitation of it). Clay orange. Glaze thin black, metallic.
D. of rim, 0.22-0.26 m. Fragments of two.

Bibliography for form **C 23: B 6**.

C 24 Plate (or saucer) with re-entrant rim.

Type I. Clay red, granular. Glaze metallic, black.
D. of rim, 0.30 m. Two joining pieces.

Similar fabric and form: **B 34, C 3, D 5aII**.

See *infra* 146 for description of form in Type I.

Bibliography for form **C 24: B 34**.

C 25 Plate with upturned rim.

- 25a** Type I. Clay red, granular. Glaze metallic black.
D. of rim, 0.30-0.38 m. Five fragments.

Similar fabric and form: **B 8** and **24b, C 4a, D 5aI, E 5a**.

See *infra* 145 for description of form in Type I.

- 25b** Type II. Clay buff. Glaze firm black. Thin wall.
D. of rim, 0.18-0.30 m. Fragments of two.

Similar fabric and form: **A 7, C 4b, D 5b** and **6b, E 5bI**.

See *infra* 156 for description of form in Type II.

- 25c** Clay hard buff to grey. Glaze black, good on most of the examples. Thin wall.
Similar in form to Type II.

D. of rim, 0.22-0.24 m. Fragments of seven.

Bibliography for form **C 25: A 7**.

C 26 Base of open form.

- 26a** Type I. One fragment with hard red-brown clay and firm black glaze; a second with softer clay and thin brown glaze. Both have almost vertical exterior and oblique interior.

D. of foot, 0.05-0.08 m.

- 26b** Pl. IX. Pl. XXXI. Type II. Blue-black glaze covers entire surface. Pattern on floor of small central circle, four surrounding stamps, all faintly impressed, and two larger circles with rouletting. Base of small vessel. Fabric identifiable as Type II but form is unique.
D. of foot, 0.04 m.
- 26c** Type III. Clay hard grey. Glaze dull black. Low raised foot, vertical on exterior, oblique on interior.
D. of foot, 0.06 m. Fragments of two.
- 26d** Pl. IX. Pl. XXXI. Clay pink-buff, granular. Glaze firm green-black over entire surface. High profiled foot divided into two bands by grooves. On floor central rosette surrounded by five palmettes and rouletting.
D. of foot, 0.05 m.
Similar form: **A 11**.
Bibliography for form: **A 11**.
Similar but not identical floor pattern: *Tarsus* 213 no. 42 fig. 121. For additional bibliography on this stamp see *Tarsus* 213 note 12.
- 26e** Pl. IX. Pl. XXXI. Clay hard buff. Glaze firm black. Lower half of foot and inside of it carefully reserved. High thin foot has oblique sides and narrow resting surface. No central turning point. On floor several rows of rouletting encircle central rosette stamp surrounded by four stamps, rosette and palmette alternating.
D. of foot, 0.05 m.
Similar form and arrangement of stamps: **A 9**.
Similar form: **C 26b**.
See *infra* 173 for discussion of this form.
- 26f** Clay pink, hard. Rough lines of template on surface. Glaze firm black over entire surface. Foot has oblique sides. On floor crude rosette stamps, probably three, and faint rouletting. Graffito on floor (see pl. XLIV).
D. of foot, 0.07 m.
- 26g** Pl. IX. Pl. XX. Pl. XLIV. Clay hard, coarse buff. Glaze thin red-brown, on floor only. Foot high and raised, oblique sides. Stacking ring. On floor pattern of central palmette surrounded by rosette stamp similar to **C 26f**. Graffito on inside of foot.
D. of foot, 0.09 m.
- 26h** Clay creamy white, soft as lamp clay. Glaze dull black.
D. of foot, 0.05 m. Four joining fragments.
Similar form: **A 9** and **C 26e**.
Similar fabric: **D 1d1**.
See *infra* 188 for discussion of this form.
- 26i** Pl. XXXI. Clay creamy white, hard. Glaze dull black, almost gone. Low heavy base. Unique fabric and form.
D. of foot, 0.05 m.
- 26j** Type IV. Clay coarse orange-buff. Glaze thin black mottled red near foot. Stacking ring. Low heavy foot with rounded exterior, oblique interior.
D. of foot, 0.05-0.06 m. Fragments of three.

C 27 Saucer with furrowed rim.

Type IV. At least two, perhaps three, workshops or potters are represented.

Similar fabric and form: **B 11** and **35**, **C 6**, **D 7**, **E 7a**.

- 27a** Pl. XXXI. Clay hard orange-brown. Glaze blue-black over entire surface, mottled red near base. Stacking ring. Several rows of rouletting on floor.
H., 0.05 m. D. of rim, 0.18 m. D. of foot, 0.05 m.
- 27b** Pl. X. Pl. XXXI. Clay hard buff. Glaze black mottled red near foot. Stacking ring. Rouletting on floor of largest example. Graffito on floor of profiled example (see pl. XLIV). Rim droops more than **C 27a**.
H., 0.03-0.05 m. D. of rim, 0.14-0.19 m. D. of foot, 0.05-0.06 m. Fragments of approximately twelve.
- 27c** Clay hard pink. Glaze black, slightly metallic. Form similar to **C 27b**. Fragments of five.
- Bibliography for form **C 27: B 11**.
See *infra* 177 for description of form.

C 28 Bowl with outturned rim.

- 28a** Type III. Clay medium grey. Glaze dull brown-grey.
D. of rim, 0.17 m. Fragment of one.
- Similar fabric and form: **B 36b**, **C 7a**, **D 8cI** and **II**, **E 8bI** and **III**.
See *infra* 168 for description of this form in Type III.
- 28b** Pl. XI. Pl. XXXI. Type IV. Clay hard pink-buff. Glaze thin metallic black.
H., 0.07 m. D. of rim, 0.20 m. D. of foot, 0.06 m. Fragments of two
- Similar fabric and form: **B 37d**, **C 7b** and **18**, **D 8dIII**, **E 8d**.
See *infra* 179 for description of this form in Type IV.
- Bibliography for form **C 28: A 14**.

C 29 Rimless bowl.

- 29a** Type I. Clay coarse red. Glaze metallic black. Rounded body. One example has small white stripe on interior.
D. of rim, 0.14 m. Fragments of three.
- Similar fabric and form: **B 37b** and **c**, **39**, **C 8**, **D 9a** and **13aI** and **II**, **E 9aI** and **II**.
See *infra* 150 for description of form in Type I.
- 29b** Pl. XI. Pl. XII. Pl. XXXII. Type IV. Two workshops or potters seem to be represented. One example has orange clay, one has buff. Clay of both is hard; glaze is firm black. Example of orange clay has grooves around bowl on exterior just below lip and rouletting on floor. Each example has angular body and foot with curving exterior, oblique interior and central turning point.
H., 0.06-0.07 m. D. of rim, 0.16 m. D. of foot, 0.06 m.
- Similar fabric and form: **A 18**, **B 38**, **C 10** and **19a**, **E 11**.
See *infra* 180 for description of form in Type IV.
- 29c** Pl. XXXII. Type IV. Clay hard orange-buff. Glaze thin orange-black. Bowl almost hemispherical. Workmanship on this example similar to that on example of orange clay in **C 29b**.
H., 0.06 m. D. of rim, 0.14 m. D. of foot, 0.04 m.
See *infra* 182 for discussion of this form in Type IV.
- Cf. *Holwerda* no. 279 fig. 2 pl. 3 from Montalcino.
- Bibliography for form **C 29: A 18**.

C 30 Bowl with incurved rim.

Type IV. Clay hard buff. Glaze thin black.
D. of rim, 0.12-0.14 m. Fragments of seven.

Similar fabric and form: **A 21**, **B 42c**, **D 9c**.
See *infra* 183 for description of form in Type IV.
Bibliography for form: **A 21**.

C 31 Bowl with ribbon-band rim. Pl. IX.

Clay buff, hard. Glaze thin black.
H., 0.05 m. D. of rim, 0.07 m. D. of foot, 0.04 m. Fragments of five.

Similar form: **A 29** and **30**; **B 13** and **43**, **C 9**, **D 11**, **E 10**.

C 32 Bowl with incurved rim and angular wall. Pl. XXXII.

Type IV (?). Clay hard buff. Glaze firm black.
D. of rim, 0.09 m.

Cf. **D 10b** for comparable form in smaller size.
See *infra* 150 for description of this form.

MonAnt 37 (1938) pl. 38 no. 1, from Foci del Garigliano; *BollComm* 64 (1936) 100 fig. 8, from Rome, the excavations of the Largo Argentina, two bowls with similar profiles but heavier walls (See **A 21** for the dating of the pottery of this stips). G. Becatti, *CVA Italy* fasc. 16 IV Eb pl. 14 no. 5, example from Todi; R. P. Delattre, *Musées de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie. Musée Lavagerie de Saint-Louis de Carthage* (Paris 1900) pl. 24 no. 5. Examples from Falerii Veteres (Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, nos. 1879 and 2037); example from Statonia (Museo Archeologico in Florence).

Form in bucchero: F. N. Pryce, *CVA Great Britain* fasc. 10 pl. 21 no. 9, several examples from Statonia (Museo Archeologico in Florence, sala XX), from Saturnia (same museum, sala XXII), from Vetulonia (same museum, sala XXVI), from Populonia (same museum, sala XXIX, XXX), from Volterra (same museum, sala XXXII). Form in impasto: G. Matteucig, *op. cit.* (**A 6**) pl. 4 nos. 21-23, pl. 9 nos. 4 and 7, pl. 15 no. 3, pl. 18 nos. 5, 13 and several other examples very similar in form, from Poggio Buco. Matteucig, *op. cit.* 25, cites an example from Heba, one from Saturnia, another from Massa Marittima; J. D. Beazley and F. Magi, *op. cit.* (**A 6**) pl. 46 no. 86 and bibliography cited for no. 86; *StEtr* 9 (1935) pls. 2 and 3, thirteen examples from tombs at Poggio Volpaio (Heba), several examples from Statonia (Museo Archeologico in Florence, sala XX).

C 33 Large bowl with ribbon-band rim. Pl. XXXII.

Clay hard buff. Glaze firm black.
D. of rim, 0.20 m. Fragments of two.

Cf. form of **A 30** and **D 15**.
See *infra* 185 for discussion of this form.

C 34 Pyxis.

Type II. Clay hard buff. Glaze black, good quality. Foot has been filed off so that its exact form is unknown.

D. of rim, 0.08 m.

Similar fabric and form: **C 11**, **D 19a**, **E 17a**.
See *infra* 161 for description of this form in Type II.
Bibliography for form: **C 11**.

C 35 Cylix. Pl. X.

Clay hard buff. Glaze firm green-black with high sheen. Fragment of rim, handle, and foot. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.14 m. D. of foot, 0.05 m.

Similar fabric: **D 9d** and **21d**.

See *infra* 188 for description of forms in this fabric.

Similar handle: *EVP* 238 ii from Monteriggioni; C. W. L. Scheurleer, *CVA* Holland fasc. 2 IV E pl. 3 no. 10; *NS* (1903), 220 fig. 3 no. 3, from Sovana. Four examples from Volterra (Museo Guarnacci, sala 9), one from Saturnia (Museo Archeologico in Florence, sala XXII), one from Chiusi (same museum, sala XLIII), another said to be from Chiusi (Museo Guarnacci, sala *d'aspetto*), two from Castiglioncello (Museo Archeologico in Castiglioncello, tomb X, no. 173).

C 36 Rimless saucer with angular wall. Pl. XXXII.

Type IV. Clay hard pink-buff. Glaze firm black. Rouletting on floor.

D. of rim, 0.20-0.21 m. Fragments of eight.

Similar fabric and form: **B 12**, **C 13** and **17**; **D 13bII**.

See *infra* 178 for description of this form in Type IV.

C 37 Spur handle.

Clay hard buff. Glaze black, metallic, carelessly applied. Degenerated form of spur is a thickened thumb rest.

H., 0.04 m.

C 38 Pitcher. Pl. XXXII.

Clay buff. Glaze thin black, metallic. Band of glaze 0.04 m. wide on top of exterior; otherwise reserved. Outturned rim. Vertical handle, elliptical in cross section, takes off at rim.

D. of rim, 0.08 m.

Cf. form of **D 20** and **E 18b**.

Cf. *Ampurias* fig. 120 no. 6 and 395 no. 2, form 65; *RS Lig* 18 (1952) 252 fig. 18 from the "boat of Sestius" found in the sea near Marseilles.

C 39 Cup with handle. Pl. XXXII.

Clay hard pink-buff. Glaze thin black on exterior and interior. Outturned rim. Heavy vertical loop handle.

D. of rim, 0.09 m. Two joining fragments.

C 40 Small pitcher. Pl. X. Pl. XXXII.

Clay yellow-buff. Glaze black on exterior and top half of interior. Encircling ridge on neck, groove on shoulder. Outturned rim, narrow neck, oblique body, footless. Single horizontal handle takes off at lip, joins body near base.

H. 0.06 m. D. of rim, 0.04 m. D. of foot, 0.03 m.

Cf. form of rim and body of **A 39**.

Cf. *CVH* pl. 61 no. 20, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. **C 40** has a neck narrower than the Madrid example.

C 41 Base of closed form. Pl. XXXII.

Clay hard orange to orange-buff. Glaze thin black on exterior. Low outturned foot. D. of rim, 0.06-0.07 m. Fragments of two.

C 42 Large vessel. Full form unknown. Pl. XXXII.

Clay hard buff, coarse and thick. Glaze black which peels easily. D. of rim, 0.30 m. Fragment of rim.

C 43 Base of shallow bowl (or plate).

Type IV. Clay hard buff or pink. Glaze thin black mottled near base. Most of the examples undecorated; some have rouletting. Foot has rounded exterior, oblique interior. Central turning point.

D. of foot, 0.05-0.07 m. Fragments of eleven.

DEPOSIT D: INTRODUCTION

In the course of the excavation seasons of 1948, 1949 and 1950 an isolating trench two meters wide was dug along the south side of the Capitolium and its forecourt. The trench was about forty-seven meters in length. Since bedrock falls steeply on this side of the Arx, the depth of the trench varied greatly along its length. Along the temple itself medieval burials were found immediately beneath the surface (0.25 m.) both in the "macco" blocks facing the base of the temple and in the adjoining area. A rammed earth surface ca. 0.80 m. below ground level and 0.20 m. below the top surviving course of the facing of the base of the temple must have been the last ancient ground level. The earth above was full of decorative architectural terracottas and roof tiles which had fallen from the Capitolium after it was abandoned. This was Level I or "Graves Trench." Below this fallen material, along the forecourt as well as the temple, was Level II, rich in fragments of architectural terracottas, pottery, lamps, and miscellaneous small objects. It varied in depth from ca. 0.30 m. near the southwest corner of the temple to two meters at the southeast corner of the forecourt. In this level at a point near the end of the anta of the temple itself was encountered an extensive fall of building material, the ruin of Temple X which once stood to the south of the Capitolium.

Level III was a thin layer (0.08-0.15 m.) of wood-ash and coals. Lying on or in this deposit were a terracotta pedimental statue and some fire-blackened fragments of architectural terracotta. There was no black-glaze pottery on this level. Level IV was the construction level of the temple and forecourt; hence its pottery is contemporary with some of the pottery of the temple fill. (See the introduction to Deposit A.)

The black-glaze pottery of Level II of this trench constitutes Group D. In this study "pottery of the trench south of the Capitolium" will mean

pottery of Level II of that trench. Its *terminus post quem* is determined by the burned layer (Level III) which, in turn, postdates the construction of the temple by some years. Since the finished exterior surfaces of the blocks of the retaining wall of the forecourt and the podium of the temple indicate that the blocks were to be seen, the charred deposit and Level II above it must have been thrown against the wall when fire destroyed Temple X some years after the Capitolium was built. The evidence of a coin and a Rhodian stamped amphora handle from Level IV of this trench have been used to date the construction of the Capitolium. They suggest a date near the middle of the second century. (See the introduction to Deposit A.) Level II contained masses of pottery for many uses, lamps, loomweights, many types of architectural terracottas, roof tiles, coins, fragments of inscriptions and other debris. This mass seems clearly to be more than a casual accumulation in and near Temple X. It must have been a fill brought to the Arx from another part of the city. The homogeneous quality of this material and its great difference from the deposit under the floors of the temple itself, and even from the fill under the floors of the basilica, which is later than that of the temple, indicate that the material which was dumped into the trench was produced several decades after the Capitolium was constructed. The fill of the basilica, Deposit B, and Levels III and IV of Section 16 of the Atrium Publicum, Deposit C, do not have much in common with Deposit D. A *terminus ante quem* of ca. 140 B.C. has been suggested for them. Deposit E, which started to accumulate later than Deposit D did and overlaps it chronologically, has a coin and stamped amphorae as evidence that its *terminus post quem* probably falls late in the second century. The pottery of Deposit D, Level II of the trench south of the Capitolium, must represent an accumulation which started 130-120 B.C.

The *terminus ante quem* is determined by the nature of the black-glaze pottery, the scarcity of fine-ware forms and red-glaze wares. The last group of this study, Deposit E, proves that the fine wares were in use at Cosa before Arretine and other red-glaze wares became common. A comparison of the quality of the black-glaze pottery of the two groups shows that the accumulation of Deposit D ended before that of Deposit E. The period of Deposit D marks the peak of the importation of the black-glaze pottery of Types I, II, and III. The pottery of Deposit E shows the same types degenerated in finish of forms and glaze. If Deposit E is pre-Arretine, that is earlier than 40-30 B.C., then Deposit D must have been made before the middle of the first century. A probable date would be 70-60 B.C. or perhaps a decade earlier.

Coins and stamped amphorae handles give support to this interval, that is, 130-120 B.C.—70-60 B.C. The latest coin in the deposit is an *as* (CB 1819) of "semuncial" standard, dated ca. 84 B.C.¹ Near the bottom of Level I was an *as* (CC 64) of the same standard, dated 87 B.C.² The four other bronze coins

¹ CRR no. 725.

² *Ibid.* no. 704.

found in Level II are all very worn, an indication that they were in use for several years before they got into the deposit. Two (CB 1816 and CC 28) are *asses* of reduced "sextantal" standard, dated 165-155 B.C.³ The other two can not be identified. By weight and style one of them, an *as* (CB 1818), seems to have been an issue of the period 175-168 B.C.; the second is an *as* (CB 1817) of reduced "sextantal" standard or "uncial" standard, that is, an issue after ca. 165 B.C. but not later than ca. 90 B.C.

Two stamped amphora handles, one Rhodian and the other possibly Rhodian, were found in Level II of the trench. The first (CB 1667) has been dated second century B.C. For the second (CB 1720), which is not completely legible, a date late in the second century has been suggested.

The lamp fragments of Level II show a great variety of forms and types. In contrast to the three deposits described previously most of the lamps are mold-made. In lamp types, as in pottery, Deposit D has much in common with Deposit E.

The bulk of the black-glaze pottery of Level II was made in a limited number of workshops — shops represented in the earlier deposits by a relatively small number of pieces. Three fabrics seem to have flooded the market at Cosa sometime after the date of the basilica's construction and in a few years, ten or twenty at most, driven others from the market. The black-glaze pottery of Level II represents the tableware in use at Cosa in the last quarter of the second century and the first years of the first century.

DEPOSIT D: CATALOGUE

D I Large plate with horizontal offset rim.

- 1a** Pl. XXXIII. Type I. Clay pink-buff to red-brown. Glaze metallic black thinning to red-brown. Glaze usually covers entire surface. Rim turns upward at lip, or has a horizontal termination similar to that of the corresponding form of Type II. Low broad foot with almost vertical exterior and slightly oblique interior. Base level or raised. Floor has concentric circles. An example which has a small central circle surrounded by two larger ones seems to be a poor copy of a decoration common on open forms of Type II.

D. of rim, 0.18-0.28 m. D. of foot, 0.06-0.10 m. Fragments of twenty.

Similar fabrics and form: **E 1a**.

See *infra* 144 for description of form in Type I.

- 1b** Plate XXXIII. Type II. Clay buff to pink-buff. Glaze black and blue-black, firm to thin. Fragments with best glazes have rims with sharpest angles. The foot is low, level or raised. It turns outward on the exterior, rises obliquely on the interior. On the center of the floor is a stamp consisting of a small flattened knob. This is surrounded by a circle in relief and two large concentric circles, incised, above the circumference of the foot. This pattern occurs in many degenerate forms in Types I, III and IV and unidentified fabrics. The decoration in the center, which is stamped on the pieces of Type II with best glazes, becomes one or two circles made with a blunt tool.

³ *Ibid.* no. 296.

D. of rim, 0.20-0.26 m. D. foot, 0.06-0.07 m. Fragments of approximately forty.

Similar fabric and form: **A 6**, **B 26**, **E 1b**.

See *infra* 154 for description of this form in Type II.

1c Type III.

1cI Pl. XXXIII. Clay soft grey. Glaze thin black.

D. of rim, 0.15-0.24 m. Fragments of four.

Similar form, same texture: **C 1a**, **E 1c**.

1cII Pl. XXXIII. Clay hard grey, similar to **D 5cII** and **D 8eII**.

Glaze black, almost disappeared. Unique form.

D. of rim, 0.28 m. One fragment.

1cIII Clay hard grey, much darker than **II**. Glaze firm black. Very thin wall.

D. of rim, 0.24 m. One fragment.

See *infra* 166 for description of form **D 1c** in Type III.

1d Type IV.

1dI Pl. XXXIII. Clay buff to orange-buff. Glaze dull black. Great variety in form of rim. At least two workshops are represented. Only identifiable base has a pattern of circles on the floor in imitation of a pattern of Type II.

H. 0.05 m. D. of rim, 0.18-0.28 m. D. of foot, 0.06 m.

Similar fabric and form: **C 1b**, **E 1e**.

See *infra* 174 for description of this form in Type IV.

1dII Pl. XII. Pl. XXXIII. Profiled lip with incised ovolo pattern on outturned rim. Shallow bowl. Form of foot unknown. Two distinct textures of clay are represented in this form; one a very soft whitish clay, the other a hard buff. Firm black glaze suggests that the form is one of the earliest of the type in this group.

D. of rim, 0.24-0.28 m. One example of each fabric.

For form of rim, cf. **E 8c**. For soft clay of the texture similar to one example, cf. **C 26h**.

See *infra* 177 for description of this form in Type IV.

Red glaze: *Dura* 10 nos. 56-57 pl. 3; "Hellenistic-Pergamene": *Tarsus* no. 269 fig. 137 *Antioch I* 70 no. 5 pls. 14-15; *Antioch IV* pt. 1, 22 nos. 101-102 fig. 4 nos. 5-15; *Samaria* fig. 185 no. 6a and b; unpublished examples from the Athenian Agora: P 14548, P. 7138, P. 3785 (Professor Henry S. Robinson informs me that plates with stamped rims from Lesbos, Pergamon, Qadesh (Palestine), Petra and Cyprus, in addition to the examples from Tarsus, Athens, Antioch and Samaria, are known to him.) For additional bibliography see *Tarsus* 233 note 32.

1dIII Imitations of Type II. Clay coarse buff. Glaze thin black. Patterns of circles or rouletting on floor. Several pieces are fragments of very large plates.

D. of rim, 0.18-0.38 m. Fragments of twenty-five.

See *infra* 174 for description of this form in Type IV.

1e Clay hard buff. Glaze firm blue-black with high sheen.

Differs from Type II in quality of clay and glaze.

D. of rim, 0.22 m. Fragments of two rims.

Similar fabric: **D 8e** and **29b**.

See *infra* 188 for description of the forms of this fabric.

Bibliography of form **D 1**: **A 6**.

D 2 Small plate on a high foot. Offset rim.

- 2a** Pl. XXXIII. Type II. Clay hard buff. Glaze black and blue-black. Horizontal rim similar in form to that of plate with horizontal offset rim. Foot is rounded at bottom of exterior. It is hollow for a quarter of its height. Pattern on floor of concentric circles, small one in center and a pair of large ones. One example has rows of fine rouletting between the two larger circles.

D. of rim, 0.11-0.16 m. D. of foot, 0.05 m. Fragments of approximately eight.

Similar fabric and form: **E 2a**.

See *infra* 155 for description of form in Type II.

Ceramica Campana 145 form 4 Type B, example from San Miguel de Sorba, another from Azaila, another from Rome, examples from Ventimiglia; *Ventimiglia* fig. 27 no. 15 and fig. 35 no. 32; *CVH* pl. 59 nos. 27 and 29; Chr. Blinkenberg and K. F. Johansen, *CVA* Denmark fasc. 5 pl. 221 no. 12; example from Volterra (Museo Archeologico in Florence), one from Castiglioncello (Museo Archeologico in Castiglioncello), one from Spina (Museo Gregorio-Etrusco di Spina, sala I, excavations of 1933-37, Deposit A).

Form in impasto: J. D. Beazley and F. Magi *op. cit.* (**A 6**) fig. 40 pl. 45; form in bucchero from Chiusi (Museo Archeologico in Florence, *terzo piano sala X*).

- 2b** Type IV.

- 2bI** Pl. XXXIII. Clay buff. Glaze firm black. Angular profile.

D. of rim, 0.10 m.

See *infra* 175 for description of form in Type IV.

- 2bII** Imitations of Type II. Clay buff. Glaze thin black. Fragments of six.

D 3 Plate with horizontal recurving rim.

- 3a** Pl. XXXIII. Type I. Clay orange-red to red-brown. In general, glazes on the fragments of this form are good, a characteristic which suggests that this is one of the earliest forms of Type I in Deposit D. The best glazed pieces have narrower, fuller curving rims. Form of foot not clear.

D. of rim, 0.16-0.28 m. Fragments of fifteen.

Similar fabric and form: **B 6**, **C 2**, **16**, **23a** and **b**.

See *infra* 146 for description of form in Type I.

- 3b** Pl. XXXIII. Type IV. Clay hard buff. Glaze firm black. Rim is narrow with full curve. Form of foot not clear. Firm glaze suggests that this form is one of the earliest products of Type IV in Deposit D.

D. of rim, 0.20 m.

Similar fabric and form: **B 25** and **E 3**.

See *infra* 176 for description of form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form **D 3**: **B 6**.

D 4 Shallow rimless bowl.

Clay coarse orange, heavy and thick. Glaze thin brown which peels easily. Large bowl or plate with oblique wall.

D. of rim, 0.42 m.

D 5 Plate with upturned rim.**5a** Type I

5aI Pl. XXXIII. Clay pink-buff to red-brown. Metallic black glaze covers entire surface. Shallow rim. Thick oblique floor. Low broad foot with vertical exterior and slightly oblique interior. Base is level or raised. Stacking ring. Floor is undecorated (for a possible exception see **D 6**) except for two large concentric circles on some examples.

H. 0.04-0.05 m. D. of rim, 0.14-0.32 m. D. of foot, 0.05-0.08 m. Fragments of thirty-five.

Similar fabric and form: **B 8** and **24b**, **C 4a** and **25**, **E 5a**.

See *infra* 145 for description of form in Type I.

Bibliography for form: **A 7**.

5aII Pl. XXXIII. Clay red. Glaze firm black. Plate (or saucer) with re-entrant rim. Form of foot unknown.

D. of rim, 0.20 m. (?) Fragments of two.

Similar fabric and form: **B 34**, **C 3** and **24**, **D 5aII**.

Bibliography for form: **B 34**.

See *infra* 146 for description of this form in Type I.

5b Pl. XXXIII. Type II. Clay buff to pink-buff, hard. Glaze black and blue-black, firm to thin. The most common form of this type. Most of the fragments have a slightly oblique floor and shallow upturned rim which tapers at the lip. Examples with best glazes have rims thickened at the curve. The sharply upturned rim is rare and confined to the large plate. No full profile is preserved but the form is clear. For profiles of feet and stamp patterns see **D 6b**. Patterns vary. All floors have concentric circles, a small one in the center and one or two larger ones just above the foot. Some have rouletting between the outer circles and several stamps in the free area around the central circle.

D. of rim, 0.18-0.22 m. Fragments of approximately fifty plates.

Similar fabric and form: **A 7**, **B 23a**, **C 4b** and **25**, **E 5bI** and **II**.

See *infra* 156 for description of form in Type II.

5c Type III.

5cI Pl. XXXIII. Clay soft grey. Glaze dull thin black. Lower part of body often unglazed on exterior. Shallow bowl with oblique wall and slightly upturned rim. Pattern on floor of a pair or pairs of concentric circles. Low straight-sided feet with groove in resting surface, a form peculiar to Type III.

D. of rim, 0.20-0.26 m. D. of foot, 0.08 m. Fragments of approximately seven.

5cII Clay grey but finer and harder than **D 5cI**. Cf. clay of **D 1cII** and **8cII**. Thin black glaze covers entire surface. Form of rim and body similar to **D 5cI**. Form of foot not identified. Fragments of three.

5cIII Pl. XXXIV. Clay soft grey, as **D 5cI**. Glaze dull black. Rim turns upward at a sharp angle. Foot is low, outturned or straight, groove in resting surface. Pattern on floor of rouletting bounded by circles, or circles alone.

D. of rim, 0.26-0.54. D. of foot, 0.10-0.18 m. Fragments of approximately six.

See *infra* 167 for description of form **D 5** in Type III.

5d Type IV.

5dI Pl. XXXIV. Clay orange-pink. Glaze firm black with high sheen. Oblique wall. Encircling groove on exterior just below lip. Lip turns out slightly. Unique. D. of rim, 0.24 m.

Cf. form of **A 16**, **E 13** and **16**.

See *infra* 185 for description of this form in Type IV.

sdII Imitations of Type II. Clay coarse buff. Glaze thin dull black.

D. of rim, 0.14-0.16 m. Plate with oblique wall: fragments of seventy. Plate with sharply upturned rim: fragments of four.

5e Pl. XXXIV. Clay hard buff, coarse. Glaze black, slightly metallic. Shallow rim. Encircling grooves on both surfaces. Form of foot unknown. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.24 m. Two pieces.

Bibliography for form **D 5: A 7**.

D 6 Base of open form.

6a Pl. XII. Pl. XXXIV. Type I. Clay coarse pink-orange. Glaze black, thinning to brown. Heavy foot, unglazed on bottom. Exterior of foot more rounded than most examples of this type. Stacking ring. On floor pattern of several rows of fine rouletting which surround four large triangular palmette stamps. Unique.

D. of foot, 0.07 m.

See *infra* 143 for discussion of this example.

Similar stamps: *Ampurias* fig. 334 no. 7; *NS* (1931) 603 no. 10 fig. 16-X, from Caivano in Campania. This necropolis is dated (by four coins of Neapolis and one of Irnum) between the middle of the fourth century and the first decades of the third century. F. Mouret, *CVA France* fasc. 6 pl. 24 nos. 9 and 11, both from Ensérune; other examples: one from the excavations at Luni (Museo Archeologico in Florence, no. 1840), one on a plate with upturned rim from Castiglioncello (Museo Archeologico in Castiglioncello, tomb XXX), one in the Musée d'Archéologie méditerranéenne in Marseilles, one in the Museo Arqueológico Provincial of Tarragona (no. 4262).

6b Pl. XII. Pl. XIII. Pl. XIV. Pl. XXXIV. Type II. Clay buff to pink-buff. Glaze black and blue-black, firm to thin. Foot is low and turns outward near bottom. Many examples are offset just above the resting surface. Floors of all examples have a small central circle and one or more pairs of large concentric circles. With four exceptions floors have rouletting between larger circles and stamps in the free central area. One exception has stamps instead of rouletting; the other, rouletting but no stamps. Two without stamps have poor glazes.

D. of foot, 0.05-0.11 m. Fragments of approximately twenty.

See *infra* 153 and 156 for discussion of forms of Type II.

6c Type III.

6cI Pl. XXXIV. Clay medium grey. Glaze thin dull black over entire surface. High raised foot with rounded exterior, oblique interior. Concentric circles on floor.

D. of foot, 0.08 m. Fragment of one.

6cII Pl. XXXIV. Clay soft grey. Glaze thin black. One fragment preserves a stamp. Dimensions, 0.055 × 0.10 m. Two joining fragments.

6d Type IV.

6dI Pl. XXXIV. Clay pink-buff. Glaze thin dull black. Heavy foot with curving exterior, oblique interior.

D. of foot, 0.06 m. Fragments of five.

6dII Clay buff to orange-buff, coarse. Glaze thin dull black. Floors undecorated except for rouletting on a few examples. Many bases copy the forms of Type II; others are rounded on exterior, oblique on interior.

D. of foot, 0.04-0.12 m. Approximately fifty bases.

- 6e** Pl. XIV. Pl. XXXIV. Clay buff, coarse. Glaze thin red-brown, metallic, covers entire base. Base has profiled exterior, oblique interior and distinct central point. Floor has crude stamp of palmettes joined by arcs. Unique.

D. of foot, 0.06 m.

Cf. stamp of **D 6g**.

Cf. *Ceramica Campana* 155 no. 6, from Ampurias, no. 7, in the Museo Arqueológico Provincial of Tarragona, 162 no. 4, from Ensérune; *Ventimiglia* fig. 55 no. 8; *Gallia* 6 (1948) 74 fig. 19 no. 2034, from Gergovie; *Rome* 125 fig. 137c, from the Tiber; Ph. Helena, *Les Origines de Narbonne* (Paris Toulouse 1937) 397 fig. 259; W. Van Ingen, *CVA USA* fasc. 3 pl. 35 no. 6 (with gorgoneion in center), said to be from Cumae, pl. 35 no. 7 (with head of Selene (?) in center), said to be from Cumae; *MonAnt* 22 (1913-14) 703 nos. 1, 8 and 9 (all with gorgoneion in center), from Cumae; *MemNap* 2 (1913) 226 fig. 40 (with female head in center), from Pompeii.

- 6f** Pl. XIV. Pl. XXXIV. Clay buff, hard. Glaze hard green-grey, metallic. Glaze covers entire surface. Raised foot turns outward. Exterior is profiled, interior curved. Stacking ring. Floor has stamp of ivy leaves joined by arcs.

D. of foot, 0.06 m.

Cf. **B 32**, a simpler version of this form.

- 6g** Clay coarse pink-buff. Glaze thin black. Form of base identical to form in Type II (**D 6b**). On floor pattern of concentric circles and stamps of arcs similar to **D 6e**.

D. of foot, 0.06 m.

Bibliography for stamp: **D 6e**.

- 6h** Pl. XIV. Pl. XXXIV. Clay buff, hard. Glaze blue-black with high sheen. Foot and band 0.02 m. above it reserved. Interior glazed. Foot level with oblique sides. Stacking ring. Rows of rouletting and stamp on floor. Unique.

D. of foot, 0.07 m.

- 6i** Clay pink buff, hard and coarse. Glaze green-black, metallic. Foot raised, curved on exterior, oblique on interior. Central turning point. Form of foot similar to that of Type II but workmanship less precise. Stacking ring and rows of rouletting on floor.

D. of foot, 0.06 m. Fragments of three or four examples.

Similar fabric: **D 17c**, **E 2b**, **14c** and **17 c**.

See *infra* 188 for description of forms in this fabric.

D 7 Saucer with furrowed rim. Pl. XXXV. Pl. XLIV.

Type IV. Clay hard red-orange to buff. Glaze black, mottled red near base. Glaze of some examples metallic. Variation in fabric suggests different workshops. Flaring wall with outturned rim. Some rims are furrowed on both sides; most of them above only. Some floors have rouletting; others are undecorated. Graffito on profiled example (on exterior near foot).

D. of rim, 0.16-0.20 m. D. of foot, 0.06 m. Fragments of fourteen.

Similar fabric and form: **B 11** and **35**, **C 6** and **27**, **E 7a**.

See *infra* 177 for description of form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form: **B 11**.

D 8 Bowl with outturned rim.

- 8a** Pl. XXXV. Type I. Clay orange-red. Glaze metallic black, good quality for Type I. D. of rim, 0.10 m. Fragments of two rims.

See *infra* 147 for description of form in Type I.

- 8b** Pl. XXXV. Type II. Clay buff to pink-buff. Glaze black and blue-black, firm to thin. Carefully profiled. Pieces with best glaze have rims which are flattened on top. Bowls of Type II are deeper than those of other types.

D. of rim, 0.14-0.20 m. Fragments of twenty-five rims.

Bases for this form: **D 26bI** and **II**, **E 19bI** and **II**.

Similar fabric and form: **A 14** and **15**, **C 20**, **E 8a**.

See *infra* 157 for description of form in Type II.

- 8c** Type III.

- 8cI** Pl. XIV. Pl. XXXV. Clay soft grey. Glaze dull black. Heavy wall. Body deep with curving wall. Rim turns outward very slightly. Foot rounded on exterior, oblique on interior.

D. of rim, 0.14-0.18 m. Fragments of eleven.

- 8cII** Clay grey, harder than **D 8cI**. Glaze thin black which peels readily. Form similar to **D 8cI**. Fragments of two rims.

Similar texture: **D 1cII** and **5cII**.

See *infra* 168 for description of form **D 8** in Type III.

- 8d** Type IV.

- 8dI** Pl. XXXV. Clay buff, fine. Glaze black with high sheen. Rim turns out sharply. Unique piece in this type.

D. of rim, 0.18 m.

- 8dII** Pl. XXXV. Clay buff. Glaze firm black. Rim turns outward and downward. D. of rim, 0.20 m. Fragments of two.

See *infra* 177 for discussion of this form.

- 8dIII** Pl. XXXV. Clay buff, hard. Glaze dull or metallic black which peels along rough encircling lines of clay. Rim turns outward slightly.

D. of rim, 0.16-0.18 m. Fragments of forty-five rims.

Similar fabric and form: **B 37d**, **C 7b**, **18** and **28b**, **D 13bI**, **E 8d**.

See *infra* 179 description of form **D 8** in Type IV.

- 8e** Pl. XXXV. Clay grey-buff, fine and hard. Glaze firm black with high sheen. Rim turns outward sharply.

D. of rim, 0.16 m.

Similar fabric: **D 1e** and **29b**.

See *infra* 188 for discussion of forms in this fabric.

- 8f** Pl. XXXV. Clay white, very soft, similar to lamp clay. Glaze thin black which peels easily. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.18 m.

Cf. fabric of **D 1dII** and **C 26h**.

See *infra* 188 for discussion of this form.

Bibliography for form **D 8**: **A 14**.

D 9 Rimless bowl with curved wall.

- 9a** Type I. Clay coarse red. Glaze thin metallic black. Heavy wall. Thickened lip. D. of rim, 0.10-0.16 m. Fragments of seven rims.

Similar fabric and form: **B 37c** and **39**, **C 8** and **29a**, **D 13aII** and **E 9aII**.

See *infra* 150 for description of form in Type I.

- 9b** Pl. XV. Pl. XXXV. Type II (?) Clay buff. Glaze firm black. Interior of foot carefully reserved. Shallow bowl with thin wall. High level foot which flares outward at bottom. Pattern on floor of dainty ring and rouletting surrounding four leaf-like stamps which radiate from a small central circle. Unique form and decoration.

H., c.04 m. D. of rim, 0.16 m. D. of foot, 0.05 m. Six joining pieces.

See *infra* 159 for discussion of this form.

- 9c** Type II. Clay buff. Glaze firm black. Clay has rough finish. Form is heavier than that of **D 9b**. Form of foot not known. One example has rings and rouletting on floor. D. of rim, 0.12-0.16 m. Fragments of six.

Similar fabric and form: **E 9b**.

See *infra* 159 for description of this form in Type II.

- 9d** Pl. XXXV. Clay buff, very hard. Glaze firm green-black with high sheen. Tapered lip. Shallow bowl.

D. of rim, 0.14 m. Fragment of one.

Similar fabric: **C 35** and **D 21d**.

See *infra* 188 for description of forms in this fabric.

- 9e** Type IV. Clay buff. Glaze thin black. D. of rim, 0.12-0.16 m. Fragments of fourteen rims.

Cf. fabric and form: **A 21**, **25** (?) and **26** (?), **B 42e**, **C 30**.

See *infra* 183 for description of form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form **D 9**: **A 18**, **A 21**.

D 10 Bowl with incurved rim.

Type I.

- 10a** Pl. XXXV. Clay coarse red. Glaze thin metallic black. Similar in heaviness of form to **D 9a**.

D. of rim, 0.09 m.

Similar fabric and form: **A 22**, **B 42c**, and bases **D 26aI** and **II** (?).

See *infra* 148 for description of form in Type I.

Bibliography for form: **A 21**.

- 10b** Pl. XXXV. Clay soft orange. Glaze thin black. Rim turns inward sharply. Angular wall thickened at turn of rim.

D. of rim, 0.06 m.

Cf. form of **C 32**.

See *infra* 150 for discussion of form in Type I.

Ampurias fig. 198 no. 4; *Ceramica Campana* 182 form 34 Type A, example from Ischia, examples from Entremont, Museo Arqueológico Provincial of Tarragona, and Ampurias.

D 11 Small bowl with broad ribbon-band rim. Pl. XV. Pl. XXXV.

Type IV. Clay hard buff. Glaze metallic black. Foot rounded on exterior, oblique on interior. Groove at base of rim.

H. 0.03 m. D. of rim, 0.04 m. D. of foot, 0.02 m.

Similar fabric and form: **A 29** and **30** (?), **B 13** and **43a**, **C 9a**, **E 10**.

See *infra* 184 for description of form in Type IV.

D 12 Small bowl with vertical rim. Pl. XXXV.

Type IV. Clay coarse buff. Glaze thin dull black. Foot has oblique exterior and interior. Incised line on exterior just below lip.

H., 0.05 m. D. of rim, 0.09 m. D. of foot, 0.06 m. Fragments of three.

Similar fabric and form: **A 19, C 19c.**

See *infra* 181 for description of form in Type IV.

D 13 Rimless bowl.

13a Type I.

13aI Pl. XV. Pl. XXXVI. Clay coarse red to red-brown. Glaze black, thin and metallic on some examples. Rim tapers. One or two encircling bands of white paint on interior just below lip. Although no complete profile is preserved it is clear that pieces with this decoration go with feet which have concentric circles of white paint on their floors. Feet with this decoration have glaze over their entire surface. They are low with straight exteriors, oblique interiors. Central turning points. Fragments of ten.

D. of rim, 0.14-0.16 m. D. of foot, 0.04-0.06 m.

Similar fabric, form, and decoration: **B 37b, C 29a, E 9aI.**

13aII Pl. XXXVI. Clay coarse red to red-brown. Glaze metallic black thinning to brown. Wall is more rounded, less oblique than **D 13aI**. No central turning point. With this wall must go the undecorated foot similar to those for form **D 13aI**. Fragments of thirty-nine.

D. of rim, 0.16-0.22 m.

Similar fabric and form (no decoration): **B 37c** and **39, C 8** and **29a, D 9a, E 9aII.**

See *infra* 150 for description of form **D 13** in Type I.

13b Type IV.

13bI Pl. XXXV. Clay hard buff. Rough finish. Glaze thin black, usually poor in quality. Oblique wall with slight flare at rim.

D. of rim, 0.14-0.18 m. Fragments of nine rims.

Similar fabric and form: **B 37d, C 7b, 18** and **28b, D 8dIII, E 8d.**

See *infra* 179 for description of this form in Type IV.

13bII Pl. XXXVI. Clay buff, soft to hard. Glaze black, firm in best pieces. Angular shallow body peculiar to this type.

D. of rim, 0.22-0.24 m. Fragments of seven rims.

Similar fabric and form: **B 12, C 13, 17** and **36.**

See *infra* 178 for description of this form in Type IV.

13c Pl. XXXVI. Clay hard grey. Glaze dull thin black.

D. of rim, 0.16-0.18 m. Fragments of three rims.

13d Pl. XV. Pl. XXXVI. Clay hard coarse buff. Glaze thin black, mottled red. Glaze covers interior and upper part of exterior. Oblique wall. Heavy foot, carelessly formed.

H., 0.06 m. D. of rim, 0.12 m. D. of foot, 0.05 m. Fragments of two.

Bibliography for form **D 13: A 18.**

D 14 Rim of large vessel. Bowl (?) Pl. XXXVI.

Clay very hard orange. Glaze dull black on exterior. Unique in fabric and form.

D. of rim, 0.20 m.

D 15 Shallow bowl with ribbon-band rim. Pl. XXXVI.

Clay coarse grey. Glaze dull blue-black.

D. of rim, 0.18 m.

Cf. forms **C 33** and **D 15**.

D 16 Bowl with broad foot and curved wall.

- 16a** Pl. XVI. Pl. XXXVI. Type II. Clay hard buff. Glaze black. Bottom of foot sometimes glazed, sometimes reserved. Some examples have two encircling grooves on the exterior just below the rim. Wall is almost straight, curved just above the foot. Broad foot has oblique exterior and interior and narrow resting surface. Floor has central circle and two larger concentric circles made with a blunt instrument.

H., 0.04 m. D. of rim, 0.12-0.13 m. D. of foot, 0.08-0.12 m. Fragments of six.

Similar fabric and form: **B 41a**, **E 14a**.

See *infra* 159 for description of form in Type II.

- 16b** Type III.

- 16b1** Clay hard grey, granular. Glaze dull black over entire surface. Similar in form to **D 16a**. Graffito on bottom of foot (see pl. XLIV).

D. of foot, 0.10 m. Fragment of foot.

Cf. form **E 14b**.

Clay similar in texture: **D 29** and **30**.

- 16bII** Pl. XXXVI. Clay soft grey, flaky. Glaze dull black. Fragment may be base of pitcher rather than of this form.

D. of foot, 0.06 m.

See *infra* 171 for description of form **D 16** in Type III.

- 16c** Pl. XVI. Pl. XXXVI. Type IV. Clay coarse buff. Glaze thin metallic black. Bottom of base sometimes glazed, sometimes reserved. Form similar to that of Type II. Rims, except for one example with poor glaze, have two grooves on exterior just below lip. Most of the floors have concentric circles similar to the decoration on the Type II examples of this form. Two bowls of poor glaze are undecorated. Graffito on bottom of base of one example (see pl. XLIV).

H. 0.04-0.05 m. D. of rim, 0.11-0.16 m. D. of base, 0.08-0.12 m. Fragments of twenty-six.

Similar fabric and form: **E 14d**.

See *infra* 182 for description of form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form **D 16**: **B 41**.

D 17 Cup with broad foot and flaring wall.

- 17a** Pl. XVI. Pl. XXXVII. Type II. Clay hard buff. Glaze black, covers entire surface. Broad foot with oblique exterior and narrow resting surface (cf. **D 16**). One example has two grooves on exterior just below lip.

H., 0.06 m. D. of rim, 0.11 m. D. of foot, 0.07 m. Fragments of ten.

See *infra* 160 for description of form in Type II.

- 17b** Pl. XXXVII. Type III. Clay soft grey. Glaze dull black. Rim turns outward more than the corresponding form of Type II. Form of foot unknown.

D. of rim, 0.10 m.

Cf. fabric and form of **E 15a**.

See *infra* 171 for description of form in Type III.

- 17c** Pl. XXXVII. Clay pink-buff, hard and coarse. Glaze black thinned to brown, very metallic. Glaze covers entire surface.

H., 0.05 m. D. of rim, 0.10 m. D. of foot, 0.06 m.

Similar fabric: **D 61**, **E 2b**, **14c**, **17c**.

See *infra* 188 for description of forms in this fabric.

Bibliography for form **D 17**: *Ampurias* fig. 332 no. 5; *Ceramica Campana* 144 form 2 Type B, example from Ampurias, from San Miguel de Sorba, examples from Ventimiglia, Azaila, and Ensérune, 157 form 2 Type C, example from the Museo Nazionale of Syracuse; *Ventimiglia* fig. 27 no. 11, fig. 52 no. 8, fig. 55 no. 6; *CVH* pl. 59 nos. 21-23, from Azaila; example from Talamone (Museo Archeologico in Florence), from Castiglioncello (Museo Archeologico in Castiglioncello), in the Museo Arqueológico in Barcelona (no. 1076), two examples on high feet from Spina (Museo Gregorio-Etrusco di Spina) sala VI, tomb 456.

Cf. bucchero chalices from Bisenzio (Museo Archeologico in Florence, sala XVII, nos. 73385-6).

D 18 Form with flaring wall. Pl. XXXVII.

Type IV. Clay hard orange-buff. Glaze black. Outturned rim. Groove on exterior just below lip. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.16 m.

See *infra* 174 for discussion of this form.

D 19 Pyxis.

- 19a** Pl. XVII. Pl. XXXVII. Type II. Clay buff to pink-buff, hard. Glaze black and blue-black, firm to thin. Glaze covers entire surface. Pieces with firmer glazes have heavier, higher and more rounded feet. Distinct groove separates interior of foot from base. H., 0.04-0.06 m. D. of rim, 0.04-0.10 m. D. of foot, 0.05-0.10 m. Fragments of twelve.

Similar fabric and form: **C 11** and **34**, **E 17a**.

See *infra* 161 for description of form in Type II.

- 19b** Pl. XXXVII. Type III. Clay soft grey. Glaze dull thin black. Glaze covers entire surface. Similar in form to **D 19a**.

D. of foot, 0.09 m. Fragments of two bases.

See *infra* 172 for description of form in Type III.

- 19c** Pl. XXXVII. Type IV. Clay buff. Glaze dull black which peels easily. Blotches of black on bottom. Flat base. Projection near bottom. Unique form.

D. of foot, 0.08 m.

See *infra* 186 for description of form in Type IV.

- 19d** Pl. XXXVII. Clay hard buff. Glaze very thin metallic black. Blotches of black on bottom. Unique.

D. of foot, 0.08 m.

Bibliography for form **D 19**: **C 11**.

D 20 Pitcher (or cup with handle). Pl. XXXVII.

Type IV. Clay pale buff. Glaze dull black which peels easily. Glaze covers exterior and small band on top of interior. Rimless. Heavy handle takes off just below lip.

Dimensions, 0.05 × 0.04 m. Fragment of lip, body and one handle.

Cf. form of **C 38** and **E 18b**.

See *infra* 187 for discussion of this form in Type IV.

D 21 Jug.

21a Pl. XXXVII. Type II. Clay hard buff. Glaze blue-black with high sheen, exterior only. High central point on floor. Identification of form uncertain. Unique.
D. of foot, 0.04 m.

21b Pl. XXXVII. Type III. Clay very soft grey. Glaze completely gone. One rim similar in form to the jug of Type II (**E 18a**) and copy of Type II (**D 21c**); the other has thicker wall, thin neck and tapered rim.

D. of rim, 0.07 m. Fragments of rims of two examples.

See *infra* 172 for discussion of form in Type III.

21c Pl. XXXVII. Type IV. Clay buff. Glaze black on exterior and interior. Outturned rim. Thick neck. Two handles. Heavy flaring foot with broad resting surface. Copy of Type II form.

H., 0.10 m. D. of rim, 0.08 m. D. of foot, 0.05 m. Fragments of three.

Similar form: **B 45** (?), **E 18a**.

See *infra* 162 and 187 for description of form in Type IV.

Cf. form in *Ceramica Campana* 149 form 10 Type B, example from Museo Arqueológico Provincial of Tarragona and from Azaila; *CVH* pl. 59 no. 2. *EVP* 237 e pl. 38 no. 10, example from Cortona, San Miniato, and Volterra. Three examples of unknown provenience. *Hokwerda* fig. 4 nos. 211-212, from Cortona (nos. 2 and 3 in *EVP*); example from Castiglioncello (Museo Archeologico in Castiglioncello), from Tarquinia (Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese).

21d Clay hard buff. Glaze firm green-black with high sheen. Thin handle with three ridges, imitation tripartite, on upper surface.

Dimensions, 0.03 × 0.02 m. Fragment of handle.

Cf. fabric of **C 35** and **D 9d**.

See *infra* 188 for description of forms in this fabric.

21e Pl. XXXVII. Clay buff, rather fine. Glaze black thinned to brown on exterior and interior of lip. Flaring rim. Single handle which takes off below rim.

D. of rim, 0.04 m. Fragment of rim and neck.

D 22 Pitcher-Strainer.

22a Clay hard grey-buff. Glaze thin dull black on exterior and on interior to strainer. Flaring rim. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.06 m. Fragment of rim and neck.

22b Pl. XXXVIII. Pl. XXXIX. Clay coarse orange. Glaze thin black, mottled red on exterior and on interior of neck to strainer. Flaring mouth. Single handle, thin, from neck to shoulder. Strainer at base of neck. One example has a short thick neck and rounded rim. Its handle takes off in the middle of the neck. The other has a tall thin neck and sharply profiled rim. The handle takes off just below the rim and joins the body on the top of the shoulder. Each example has a tall curving body and low broad foot.

D. of rim, 0.07-0.08 m. D. of foot, 0.09-0.10 m.

D 23 Large amphora (?) Pl. XVII. Pl. XL.

Clay coarse orange, unevenly fired. Glaze dull black, on rim and interior. Petals of large palmette in black glaze (or paint) extend upward on neck. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.02 m. Two fragments preserve rim and part of neck.

Cf. earlier examples of amphorae with wide black rim and palmettes on neck: *StEtr* 21 (1950-51) 385 figs. 1 and 2, example from Bisenzio; *StEtr* 16 (1942) no. 70997 pl. 49, from Pescia; *StEtr* 15 (1941) no. 80677 pl. 36, from Saturnia, no. 4149 pl. 36, no. 75786 pl. 37, the latter from Orvieto, no. 4138 pl. 37, no. 4177 pl. 38.

D 24 Large closed form. Pl. XVII.

Clay hard orange, fired unevenly. On exterior buff slip and dull black glaze. On this surface part of an incised figure, a warrior, running left, wearing a short cloak with zigzag pattern at hem. Full form of vessel unknown. Unique.

Dimensions, 0.10 × 0.10 m. Fragment of wall.

D 25 Molded form.

Type III. Clay soft grey. Glaze black. Fragment seems to have been half of a bird's head. It may be from an askos. Unique.

Dimensions, 0.04 × 0.04 m. Broken through center, lengthwise, along lines of mold.

See *infra* 164 for discussion of this form in Type III.

D 26 Base of bowl.

26a Type I.

26aI Pl. XVIII. Pl. XL. Clay orange-red. Glaze black, covers entire surface. Exterior of foot curved, interior slightly oblique. Stamp on floor of central rosette or circle with dots.

D. of foot, 0.04-0.05 m. One example of each stamp.

Cf. stamp **A 21c**. Cf. stamps of circles: *Amपुरias* fig. 325 no. 9, fig. 332 no. 3. F. Mouret *CVA* France fasc. 6 pl. 29 nos. 7 and 9, pl. 30 nos. 1 and 28, all from Ensérune.

26aII Pl. XVIII. Pl. XL. Clay orange-red. Glaze metallic black. Foot level or raised, less rounded than **D 26aI**. Stacking ring. Four ivy leaf stamps irregularly placed within a circle of rouletting.

D. of foot, 0.04-0.06 m. Three examples.

Cf. stamps: *Ceramica Campana* 203 no. 6b Type A, example from Ensérune; F. Mouret, *CVA* France fasc. 6 pl. 24 nos. 4 and 8, pl. 28 no. 8, pl. 29 no. 1, all from Ensérune; *Rome* fig. 139b, example from Rome.

26b Type II.

26bI Pl. XVIII. Pl. XL. Clay buff to pink-buff. Glaze black and blue-black, firm to thin. Foot flares outward at bottom. Bottom of base is flat, with no central point. Pattern on floor of central circle and two pairs of larger concentric circles with four stamps, alternating pairs, in the open area between the small and larger circles. Stacking ring. Fragment gives base and part of wall. This form probably had a flattened rim and two grooves on exterior just below rim. Cf. **C 20**. Other bases which may have come from bowls of this form are described under **D 6b**.

D. of foot, 0.06 m.

See *infra* 157 for description of this form in Type II.

26bII Pl. XVIII. Pl. XL. Clay hard grey. Glaze dull blue. Glaze covers entire surface. Foot flares outward. It has distinct offset on interior. On floor pattern central circle and two pairs of larger concentric circles. Four similar stamps cluster around smallest circle. Unique. Texture of clay and color of clay and glaze are probably due to overfiring.

D. of foot, 0.05 m.

Cf. clay and glaze of **E 19bII**.

26c Type III.

26cI Pl. XL. Clay grey, soft to hard. Glaze dull black. High foot which is rounded on exterior. On floor pattern of two small and two large concentric circles. D. of foot, 0.05-0.06 m. Fragments of five.

26cII Similar in fabric and form to **D 26cI**. Clay medium in texture. Glaze of poor quality. Floor undecorated. D. of foot, 0.05 m.

26cIII Pl. XL. Clay soft grey. Glaze dull thin black. Low outturned foot. Concentric circles on floor. D. of foot, 0.10 m.

26cIV Pl. XL. Clay soft pink-grey with sand and impurities. Low broad foot which turns outward slightly. On floor rows of rouletting. D. of foot, 0.12 m.

26cV Pl. XL. Clay grey, hard and granular. Glaze blue-black over entire surface. Small irregular foot which turns outward. Stacking ring. D. of foot, 0.05 m.

26cVI Pl. XL. Clay grey, finer and softer than **D 26cV**. Glaze thin dull black over entire surface. High thin raised foot, curved exterior, oblique interior. Stacking ring. D. of foot, 0.05 m.

26d Clay hard buff. Glaze firm black over entire surface. Low outturned foot with oblique interior. Groove incised around central turning point. Unique. D. of foot, 0.05 m.

26e Clay hard grey. Glaze black thinning to grey. Broad raised foot with vertical exterior, oblique interior and central turning point. Wall at sharp angle to floor. Unique. D. of foot, 0.06 m.

26f Clay soft orange which flakes easily. Metallic black glaze on entire exterior surface. Broad floor. Low outturned foot. Interior of foot is continuous oblique line to central depression. Unique. Fragment is probably the base of a pitcher. A small ribbon-band handle with ribs on upper surface must go with this base. D. of foot, 0.05 m.

26g Clay orange-buff, hard. Glaze firm blue-black. Shallow bowl. Full form not clear. Broad foot, vertical exterior, oblique interior and very narrow resting surface. Fabric similar to Type II but form of foot is unique. D. of foot 0.10 m.

26h Clay buff. Glaze blue-black with high sheen. Fabric similar to Type II. Form is not clear. It seems to be part of the base of a large closed vessel which was glazed on exterior and interior. Foot is low and broad, with broad resting surface. Fragment is badly chipped. Neither full dimensions nor profile can be determined. Approximate dimensions, 0.07 × 0.07 m.

26i Pl. XL. Clay orange-buff, coarse. Glaze black thinned to orange, on exterior and interior. High outturned foot. Crude workmanship. D. of foot, 0.05 m.

26j Type IV. Clay buff, coarse. Glaze black thinning to red. Foot has curved exterior, oblique interior, central turning point. Several workshops may be represented but the differences in clay, glaze and workmanship are not great enough to show subdivisions of the type. D. of foot, 0.03-0.07 m. Fragments of thirty.

D 27 Base (?) Pl. XL.

Clay coarse pink-orange. Glaze metallic black. Fabric similar to Type I. Form not clear. Low false ring foot. On floor stamped pattern of large rosette.

D. of base, 0.03 m.

D 28 Stand.

28a Pl. XL. Type IV (?) Clay pink-buff, granular. Glaze black, slightly metallic. D. of base, 0.10 m.

See *infra* 174 for description of form in Type IV.

28b Pl. XL. Clay hard grey with rough ridges on surface. Glaze firm grey. D. of base, 0.09 m.

D 29 Form with spout.

29a Type III. Clay hard grey, granular. Glaze dull black. Similar in texture of clay and in glaze to **D 16bI** and **D 30**. Tapering spout. L. 0.05 m.

See *infra* 164 for discussion of form in Type III.

29b Clay grey-buff, fine and very hard. Glaze firm black on interior. Tapering. Take-off of ribbon handle at base of spout. Probably part of a guttus.

L. 0.05 m.

Similar fabric: **D 1c** and **8c**.

See *infra* 188 for description of forms in this fabric.

D 30 Lid. Pl. XL.

Type III. Clay hard grey. Glaze firm dull black. Similar in texture of clay and in glaze to **D 16bI** and **D 29**.

Dimensions: 0.08 × 0.04 m.

Similar fabric and form: **B 52b** and **E 21b**.

See *infra* 172 for description of this form in Type III.

DEPOSIT E: INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 1949, some time before the excavation season began, a cut for earth for road grading was made in the slope outside the curtain between Towers 8 and 9 of the city wall. By chance the cut hit a pocket in bedrock which had been filled in antiquity with a pottery dump. The dump was partially disturbed and quantities of pottery were scattered over the area in front of the cut and along the road nearby before the excavation season began.

The dump had originally covered a strip about thirteen meters in length parallel to Curtain 8/9. It seems to have accumulated from pottery which rolled or scattered when it was thrown from the city wall and fell into crevices and gullies in the bedrock. The cut which the road builders made showed

that, in general, amphorae and other heavy vessels had been thrown or rolled toward one side, the lighter cooking and domestic vessels had fallen into the center, and the thinner vessels had fallen on the other side, into a large pocket in the bedrock very near the wall (1.38 m. from it). This last section, the deepest (ca. 2.50 m.) was stratified in five levels but excavation of it revealed that the dump was the result of a single cleanup or the accumulation of a short period. All types of wares appeared in all levels and several joining fragments came from different levels. Level III, a stratum (ca. 1.06 m. in depth) of small stones and large lumps of hard white lime mortar, and possibly Level IV, an irregular packed deposit of small rocks and soft grey earth, were construction waste. The pottery was thrown on top of this debris and filtered down. In other parts of the dump these strata sloped sharply downward from the city wall and were not always clear on account of the irregularities of the bedrock and great boulders. The black-glaze pottery of the entire dump comprises Deposit E.

The external evidence of Deposit E indicates a *terminus post quem* late in the second century. The single legible coin, (CB 1706) found 0.15 m. below the surface, was a *quinarius* of M. Porcius Cato, dated "c. 93-91 B.C." ¹ The four Rhodian stamped amphorae handles found in the dump have been assigned to the second century, more precisely: (1) probably second quarter (CC 1671), (2) second half (CC 1672) (3) third quarter (CB 1759), and (4) probably last quarter (CB uncatalogued). A Latin amphora stamp represented by two examples (CB 1709, CB 1712) has been dated late second century, at the earliest. ² The *terminus ante quem* from Deposit E must come from the pottery itself. All the pottery of the dump is in bad condition. The black-glaze pieces are of poor quality, poorer than the pottery of any other deposit. The dump has many fabrics and forms in common with Deposit D. It has a greater proportion of red-glaze wares and thin-walled cups and bowls than Deposit D. The red-glaze wares include two rim forms, a large plate with downturned rim, a plate with upturned rim and two bases which have been identified as "Hellenistic-Pergamene," ³ a few pieces of Arretine, and unidentified fabrics. The poor quality of the black-glaze pottery and the greater proportion of the red-glaze wares and fine wares indicate that the *terminus ante quem* of Deposit E must be later than that of Deposit D. Since it has so many fabrics and forms in common with Deposit D, it can not be much later. A comparison of the lamp fragments of Deposits D and E parallels that of the pottery. The two have many types in common. The difference in the two deposits is in the relatively greater frequency of wheel-made types in Deposit D and the better quality of its black-glaze lamps. The presence of Arretine ware in Deposit E

¹ CRR no. 597c.

² I am grateful to Mrs. Frederic Will, who is preparing a study of Roman amphorae, for this information. Her dating is based on amphorae of the same form which have been found in the Athenian Agora in dated contexts.

³ This identification was made by Professor Henry S. Robinson.

indicates that it closed very near to 30 B.C., perhaps ten years earlier. Deposit E represents the last period of black-glaze production. An interval from 110-100 B.C. to 40-30 B.C. for the deposit E seems to be consistent with the external and internal evidence. This period would account for the similarities and differences between Deposits D and E and the presence of Arretine fragments in the latter.

DEPOSIT E: CATALOGUE

E 1 Plate with horizontal offset rim.

- 1a** Pl. XLI. Type I. Clay pink-buff to red-brown. Glaze metallic black thinning to brown. Glaze usually covers entire surface. Examples with best glazes turn upward sharply at rim. In Deposit E bases of this form are indistinguishable from those of plate with upturned rim 0.16-0.26.

D. of rim, 0.16-0.26 m. Fragments of eight.

Similar fabric and form: **D 1a**.

See *infra* 144 for description of form in Type I.

- 1b** Pl. XLI. Type II. Clay buff to pink-buff. Glaze black and blue-black, firm to thin. Rim turns upward near lip. Foot turns outward on exterior, rises obliquely on interior. It is level or raised, more frequently the latter. Pattern on floor of small depressed circle in center and two large concentric circles above foot.

D. of rim, 0.20-0.22 m. D. of foot, 0.06 m.

Fragments of approximately eighteen.

Similar fabric and form: **A 6**, **B 26**, **D 1b**.

See *infra* 154 for description of form in Type II.

- 1c** Type III. Clay hard grey. Glaze thin black which peels easily. On floor concentric circles and rouletting.

Dimensions of larger fragment, 0.07 × 0.06 m.

Cf. fabric and form of **C 1a** and **D 1c**.

See *infra* 166 for description of form in Type III.

- 1d** Pl. XLI. Clay buff, hard and coarse. Glaze thin red-brown. Edge of rim turns up sharply.

D. of rim, 0.22 m. Two joining pieces of rim and body.

- 1e** Pl. XLI. Type IV. Clay hard pink-buff. Glaze thin black which peels easily. H. 0.05 m. D. of rim, 0.19 m. D. of foot, 0.06-0.07 m. Six joining pieces of one example give full profile. Fragments of five other examples.

Similar fabric and form: **C 1b**, **D 1d**.

See *infra* 174 for description of form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form **E 1**: **A 6**.

E 2 Small plate on a high foot.

- 2a** Pl. XLI. Type II. Clay buff. Glaze thin black.

D. of rim, 0.12 m. D. of foot, 0.05 m. Fragments of three: rims of two and foot of a third.

Similar fabric and form: **D 2a**.

See *infra* 155 for description of form in Type II.

- 2b** Pl. XLI. Clay hard buff. Glaze green-black, metallic and hard. Termination of rim is almost vertical.

D. of rim, 0.12 m. Fragment of rim of one example.

Similar fabric: **D 6i** and **17c**, **E 14c** and **17c**.

See *infra* 188 for description of forms in this fabric.

- 2c** Pl. XLI. Clay coarse buff. Glaze thin black. Foot is straight or angular. Crude pattern of concentric circles on floor.

D. of foot, 0.04-0.05 m. Fragments of five feet and floors.

Bibliography for form **E 2: D 2**.

E 3 Plate with horizontal recurving rim. Pl. XLI.

Type IV. Clay hard buff with rough surface. Glaze hard metallic black. Firm glaze suggests that this is one of the oldest pieces in this deposit.

D. of rim, 0.18 m.

Similar fabric and form: **B 25**, **D 3b**.

See *infra* 176 for description of form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form: **B 6**.

E 4 Small plate with re-entrant rim. Pl. XLI.

Clay soft buff. Glaze thin dull black. Stamp on floor must have been one of several around center.

D. of rim, 0.09 m.

Similar form: **B 34**, **C 3** and **24**, **D 5aII**.

Bibliography for form: **B 34**.

E 5 Plate with upturned rim.

- 5a** Pl. XLI. Type I. Clay pink-buff to red-brown. Glaze metallic black to red-brown, covers entire surface. Shallow rim. Thick oblique floor. Low broad foot with vertical exterior and slightly oblique interior. Foot is level or raised. Stacking ring. Floor is undecorated except for two large concentric circles on a few examples.

D. of rim, 0.16-0.26 m. D. of foot, 0.05-0.07 m. Fragments of ten.

Similar fabric and form: **B 8** and **24b**; **C 4a** and **25**; **D 5aI**.

See *infra* 145 for description of form in Type I.

- 5b** Type II.

- 5bI** Pl. XIX. Clay buff to pink-buff, hard. Glaze black and blue-black, firm to thin. Examples with best glazes have thickened rims. Oblique wall. Foot turns outward on exterior, is oblique on interior. Only one of approximately twenty examples bears a stamp; all others have simple rouletting and concentric circles or no decoration.

D. of rim, 0.18-0.32 m. D. of foot, 0.06-0.12 m.

Similar stamp arrangement: *Rome* 125 fig. 140c, from Rome.

- 5bII** Pl. XLI. Clay hard buff. Glaze black, firm to thin. Large plate with vertical rim.

D. of rim, 0.36-0.38 m. Fragments of five rims.

Fabric and form similar to **E 5b: A 7**, **B 23a** (or copy), **C 4b** and **25**, **D 5b** and **6b**, **E 5bI** and **II**.

See *infra* 156 for description of form **E 5b** in Type II.

5c Type III.

5cI Pl. XLI. Clay hard grey. Glaze firm black. Form of foot not identified. On floor pattern of circles and rouletting.

D. of rim, 0.22-0.26 m. Fragments of five.

5cII Pl. XLI. Clay hard grey. Glaze thin black. Vertical rim.

D. of rim, 0.26 m. Fragment of one.

Fabric and form similar to **E 5c: B 23b, D 5cI, II and III.**

See *infra* 167 for description of form **E 5c** in Type III.

5d Type IV.

5dI Clay buff. Glaze thin black. Imitation of small plate of Type II.

D. of rim, 0.14-0.18 m. Fragments of sixteen.

5dII Clay buff. Glaze thin dull black. Vertical rim. Imitation of large plate of Type II.

D. of rim, 0.18-0.32 m. Fragments of eight.

See *infra* 175 for description of forms of Type IV.

Bibliography for form **E 5: A 7.**

E 6 Base of plate.

6a Type III.

6aI Pl. XLI. Clay soft grey. Glaze dull black. Low foot with groove in resting surface. On floor concentric circles.

D. of foot, 0.13 m.

6aII Pl. XLI. Clay grey, harder than **E 6aI**. Glaze dull black. High raised foot with rounded exterior, oblique interior. On floor pattern of rouletting with deep star stamp within it.

D. of foot, 0.10 m.

6b Pl. XIX. Pl. XLI. Clay pale buff, soft. Glaze thin green-black, metallic. Glaze covers entire surface. Stacking ring. Low foot with oblique sides and central turning point. On floor pattern of three crude palmette stamps. Unique.

D. of foot, 0.05 m.

Cf. stamp: F. Mouret, *CVA* France fasc. 6 pl. 24 no. 3, pl. 29 no. 10, pl. 30 no. 19, all from Ensérune.

6c Pl. XLI. Clay orange, coarse and unevenly fired. Glaze thin black, mottled red on exterior. High offset foot with concave exterior, convex interior. Stacking ring. On floor rings and rouletting and four identical stamps in free central area. Unique.

D. of foot, 0.07 m.

6d Type IV.

6dI Clay buff. Glaze thin blue-black. Each example has outturned foot typical of Type II. Floor of larger example has central circle and two larger circles with rouletting between them. Floor of smaller one has only circles.

D. of foot, 0.06-0.09 m.

6dII Pl. XLI. Clay pink-buff to orange-buff. Glaze thin black mottled red near foot. Foot is level or slightly raised, with rounded exterior and oblique interior. Stacking ring.

D. of foot, 0.06 m. Fragments of seven.

E 7 Saucer with furrowed rim.

- 7a** Pl. XLII. Type IV. Clay orange-buff. Glaze firm black.
D. of rim, 0.18 m. Fragment of one.

Similar fabric and form: **B 11** and **35**, **C 6** and **27**, **D 7**.
See *infra* 177 for description of form in Type IV.

- 7b** Clay soft grey. Glaze firm blue-black. Form of this example thinner and less coarse than Type IV one.
D. of rim, 0.20 m.

Bibliography for form **E 7**: **B 11**.

E 8 Bowl with outturned rim.

- 8a** Pl. XLII. Type II. Clay buff. Glaze blue-black and black, firm to thin. Examples with best glazes have flattened rims.
D. of rim, 0.16-0.18 m. Fragments of five rims.

Similar fabric and form: **A 14** and **15**, **C 20**, **D 8b**; bases **D 26bI** and **II**, **E 19bI** and **II**.

See *infra* 157 for description of form in Type II.

- 8b** Type III.

- 8bI** Pl. XLII. Clay very soft grey with many impurities. Glaze thin red-brown. Encircling groove on upper surface of rim.
D. of rim, 0.14 m.

Cf. fabric and form of **B 36b**, **C 7a** and **28a**, **D 8c**.

- 8bII** Pl. XLII. Clay grey, harder and finer than **E 8bI**. Glaze black with sheen. Ridge on top of rim has been cut at intervals by a sharp instrument. Unique.
D. of rim, 0.30 m.

- 8bIII** Clay medium grey. Glaze black thinned to red-brown. Rounded rim.
D. of rim, 0.16 m. Fragments of four.

See *infra* 168 for description of form **E 8bI** and **III** in Type III.

- 8c** Pl. XLII. Clay soft buff, granular. Glaze firm blue-black. Shallow bowl with overhanging rim. Crude ovolo pattern in relief on upper side of rim.
D. of rim, 0.24 (?) m. Two joining fragments.

Cf. similar rim pattern: **D 1dII**.

Bibliography for form: **D 1dII**.

- 8d** Pl. XLII. Type IV. Clay orange-buff to buff. Glaze thin black. Pieces with best glazes have flattened rims; those with poorer glazes roll outward.
D. of rim, 0.18 m. Fragments of twenty-two.

Similar fabric and form: **B 37d**, **C 7b**, **18** and **28b**, **D 8dIII**.

See *infra* 179 for description of form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form **E 8**: **A 14**.

E 9 Rimless bowl with curved wall.

- 9a** Type I.

- 9aI** Pl. XLII. Clay coarse red to red-brown. Glaze black, thin and metallic. Deep bowl. Low foot with almost vertical sides. One or two encircling bands of thin

white paint on interior just below lip. On floor two large concentric circles in same white paint.

D. of rim, 0.14-0.16 m. D. of foot, 0.16 m. Fragments of seven.

Similar fabric, form, and decoration: **B 37b**, **C 29a**, **D 13aI**.

See *infra* 151 for description of form in Type I.

- 9aII** Pl. XX. Pl. XLII. Pl. XLIV. Clay coarse red, harder and more granular than **E 9aI**. Glaze thin metallic black. Thick wall. Graffito on bottom of one example.

D. of rim, 0.14-0.18 m. D. of foot, 0.05 m. Fragments of four.

Similar fabric and form: **B 37c**, and **39**, **C 8** and **29a**, **D 9a**, and **13aII**.

See *infra* 150 for description of form in Type I.

- 9b** Pl. XLII. Type II. Clay buff. Glaze firm black.

D. of rim, 0.16-0.18 m. Fragments of three.

Similar fabric and form: **D 9c**.

See *infra* 159 for description of form in Type II.

- 9c** Pl. XLII. Type III.

Clay soft grey. Glaze dull black. Low foot with groove in resting surface. On floor pattern of pairs of concentric circles.

H. 0.03 m. D. of rim, 0.13 m. D. of foot, 0.06 m. Fragments of three.

Similar fabric and form: **B 40**.

See *infra* 169 for description of form in Type III.

- 9d** Clay buff, hard and soft. Glaze thin black. Similar in form to **E 9b**.

D. of rim, 0.13-0.16 m. Fragments of six.

Bibliography for form **E 9**: **A 18**.

E 10 Small bowl with broad ribbon-band rim.

Type IV. Clay buff. Glaze thin metallic black which peels easily. Groove at bottom of rim.

D. of rim, 0.07 m.

Similar fabric and form: **A 29** and **30** (?), **B 13** and **43a**, **C 9a**, **D 11**.

See *infra* 184 for description of form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form: **A 28**.

E 11 Rimless bowl with angular wall. Pl. XLII.

Type IV. Clay orange-grey. Glaze thin grey-black. Fragment has been subjected to fire after it was broken.

D. of rim, 0.17 m.

Similar fabric and form: **A 18**, **B 38**, **C 10a** and **b**, **19a** and **29b**.

See *infra* 180 for description of form in Type IV.

Bibliography for form: **A 18**.

E 12 Deep bowl (?). Pl. XLII.

Clay soft buff. Glaze firm blue-black on exterior and on interior of neck. Thick rim is flattened on top. Full form unknown.

D. of rim, 0.10 m.

E 13 Bowl with thickened lip. Pl. XLII.

Type IV. Clay buff. Glaze thin red-brown.
D. of rim, 0.12 m.

Cf. fabric and form of **A 16**, **D 5dI**, **E 16**.
See *infra* 185 for description of form in Type IV.

E 14 Bowl with broad foot and curved wall.

14a Pl. XLII. Type II. Clay hard buff. Glaze thin black over entire surface. Two small grooves encircle exterior of bowl just below lip. On floor pattern of two large concentric circles.

D. of rim, 0.16 m. D. of foot, 0.12 m. Fragments of two.

Similar fabric and form: **B 41a**, **D 16a**.

See *infra* 159 for description of form in Type II.

14b Pl. XLII. Type III. Clay soft grey. Glaze dull black on interior and top of exterior. On floor pattern of three concentric circles, small one in center and two large ones.

D. of base, 0.12 m.

Cf. fabric and form of **D 16b**.

See *infra* 171 for description of form in Type III.

14c Clay hard buff. Glaze green-black, metallic. Grooves on exterior just below rim. Pattern of concentric circles on floor. Form similar to that of Type II. Fragments of two.

Cf. fabric of **D 6i** and **17c**, **E 2b** and **17c**.

See *infra* 188 for description of forms in this fabric.

14d Type IV. Clay buff, soft to hard. Glaze thin dull black. One or two grooves on exterior just below rim. Crude circle pattern on floor. Form an imitation of that of Type II. Fragments of approximately twenty-five.

Similar fabric and form: **D 16c**.

Bibliography for form **E 14**: **B 41**.

E 15 Cup with broad floor and flaring wall.

15a Pl. XLII. Type III. Clay soft grey. Glaze thin black.
D. of rim, 0.14-0.16 m. Fragments of two.

Cf. fabric and form of **D 17b**.

See *infra* 171 for description of form in Type III.

15b Clay coarse buff. Glaze thin black, sometimes metallic. Form similar to that of Type II. Fragments of five.

Bibliography for form **E 15**: **D 17**.

E 16 Bowl with thickened lip. Pl. XLII.

Type IV. Clay orange-buff, soft. Glaze thin black mottled red. Full form not known.
D. of rim, 0.18 m.

Cf. fabric and form of **A 16**, **D 5dI**, **E 13**.

See *infra* 185 for description of form.

E 17 Pyxis.

17a Pl. XLII. Type II. Clay hard buff. Glaze black, firm to thin. Lips and feet of examples with better glazes curve outward more. Groove separates interior of foot from the base. It has almost disappeared on two examples.

H. 0.04-0.06 m. D. of rim, 0.07-0.08 m. D. of foot, 0.10-0.11 m. Fragments of nine.

Similar fabric and form: **C 11** and **34**, **D 19a**.

See *infra* 161 for description of form in Type II.

17b Type IV.

17b1 Pl. XLII. Clay soft buff. Glaze thin black mottled red.

D. of foot, 0.08 m.

Similar in fabric to **E 13** and **E 16**.

17b11 Clay buff, soft and coarse. Glaze thin dull black. Form similar to that of Type II. Smallest fragment has full dimensions thus:

H. 0.03 m. D. of rim, 0.05 m. D. of foot, 0.06 m. Fragments of three, perhaps four.

See *infra* 186 for description of form **E 17** in Type IV.

17c Clay buff, hard and coarse. Glaze green-black, unevenly fired. Form similar to that of Type II.

H. 0.06 m. D. of rim, 0.08 m. D. of foot, 0.08 m.

Similar fabric: **D 61** and **17c**, **E 2b** and **14c**.

See *infra* 188 for description of forms in this fabric.

Bibliography for form **E 17**: **C 11**.

E 18 Jug (or pitcher).

18a Type II. Clay buff. Glaze black. Glaze on exterior and interior. Full form not known.

Dimensions: 0.05 × 0.055 m. Fragment of neck and shoulder with handle take-off.

18b Pl. XLII. Clay hard pink-buff. Band of metallic black glaze covers rim and band (0.025 m. in width) below rim on exterior. Outturned rim. Full form not known.

D. of rim, 0.09 m.

Three fragments, two joining, give profile of rim, part of body and handle.

Cf. forms of **C 38** and **D 20**.

18c Clay hard orange. Glaze thin black on exterior and on interior of rim. Rim turns outward and upward. Ribbed ribbon-handle takes off at lip. Imitation of Type II form.

D. of rim, 0.07 m. Two joining fragments of one example and handle of second.

18d Pl. XIX. Pl. XLII. Clay soft buff. Decoration on edges of flattened rim in bands of thinned black glaze and on upper surface of handle in horizontal and criss-crossing bands. Handle, elliptical in cross section, takes off below rim. Full form not known. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.09 m. Fragment of rim and handle.

E 19 Base of bowl.

19a Pl. XLII. Type I. Clay orange-red. Thin metallic glaze on exterior. Low broad foot with vertical exterior, oblique interior, and narrow resting surface. Thick wall.

D. of foot, 0.06 m.

19b Type II.

19b1 Pl. XIX. Pl. XLII. Clay hard buff. Glaze firm blue-black over entire surface. On floor pattern of small central circle, incised, surrounded by four stamps which, in turn, are enclosed in two pairs of concentric circles with rouletting between them.

D. of foot, 0.06 m. Fragments of two.

Cf. stamps of *Ceramica Campana* 155 no. 9 (Museo Arqueológico Provincial of Tarragona); *Rome* 125 fig. 141b, from Rome.

19bII Pl. XIX. Pl. XLII. Clay hard grey-buff which splinters at fractures. Conspicuous template marks on exterior. Blue glaze covers entire surface. Stacking ring. On floor pattern of central circle, incised, surrounded by four small stamps which, in turn, are enclosed in two pairs of large concentric circles.

D. of foot, 0.05 m.

Cf. clay and glaze of **D 26bII**.

19c Pl. XLIII. Clay hard buff. Rough encircling lines on surface. Glaze thin black mottled red. Foot is heavy, usually raised, with curved exterior and oblique interior.

D. of foot, 0.05-0.07 m. Six examples.

19d Pl. XLIII. Clay buff, firm and hard. Glaze firm black over entire surface. Low foot with oblique sides. Floor depressed. Foot of small bowl.

D. of foot, 0.03 m.

Cf. **A 27**, bowl with depressed floor.

19e Pl. XLIII. Clay soft buff. Careless workmanship. Glaze thin black, mottled red on exterior and interior. Unique.

D. of foot, 0.04 m.

Cf. F. O. Waagé, "The Roman and Byzantine Pottery," *Hesperia* 3 (1933) shape 67 p. 8: "Pergamene." For the development of the concave cup in "Pergamene" see *Antioch I* 72.

19f Pl. XLIII. Clay orange-buff, coarse. Glaze thin black mottled red on entire exterior. High foot.

D. of foot, 0.05 m.

19g Pl. XLIII. Clay hard orange-buff. Rough finish. Glaze dull thin black on upper part of body. Small base with conspicuous central point.

D. of foot, 0.04 m.

19h Pl. XLIII. Clay pink-buff. Glaze thin black, metallic. Low broad foot. Thin wall and floor.

D. of foot, 0.05 m.

E 20 Closed form with handle.

Type III. Clay soft grey. Glaze black. Form not clear. It is probably an askos.

Dimensions: 0.055 × 0.05 m. Fragment preserves only a section of the body and take-off of handle.

E 21 Lid.

21a Pl. XLIII. Type II. Clay buff. Glaze black. Full form not known. Unique.

D. of rim, 0.16 m.

See *infra* 163 for discussion of form.

21b Type III. Clay medium grey. Glaze thin dull black. Form incomplete. It seems to be similar to that of lids of Type III in other deposits.

Dimensions: 0.08 × 0.04 m.

Cf. fabric and form of **B 52b** and **D 30**.

See *infra* 172 for description of form in Type III.

CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS: FABRICS AND FORMS

Type I:¹ *Introduction to forms.*

The variations in the clay and glaze of Type I have been stated in the Introduction. The clay of this type has a greater range of color than that of any other type, yet it is the easiest to identify. The coarse red or orange clay and the metallic black glaze distinguish it from all other fabrics.

The forms are simple. Plates (or saucers) and bowls are the only forms represented in the five deposits of pottery. The plates have several shapes: upturned rim, horizontal offset rim, horizontal recurving rim, and re-entrant rim. The bowls have incurved or outturned rim or no rims at all.² There are no cups or forms with handles in the fabric of Type I in any of the five deposits. The shapes are the ones which stacked easily for transportation.³

The forms are, in general, heavier than the corresponding ones of other fabrics. Walls are thick. Stacking rings are common. Feet are lower and straighter in profile than the feet of other types. The best examples of the type have a firm black glaze. The potter sometimes made an attempt to keep the inside of the foot unglazed, but as the workmanship becomes more careless, a thin coat of glaze is applied over the entire surface, as if the plate or bowl had been dipped hastily. The glaze becomes more and more metallic. Within the simple repertory of the type there is increasing angularity, less roundness.

Most of the forms of Type I are undecorated. On the open forms the most common device of decoration is two large concentric circles, approximately above the foot. The addition of a small circle at the center seems an imitation of the more precise decoration on the floors of some of the forms of Type II. A unique stamped base of Type I (**D 6a**) must be an early product of the type and an intrusion into Deposit D. Its sides are more rounded than those of most of the examples of this type and its floor has a pattern of several rows of fine rouletting, a sign of attentive workmanship rare in Cosa's examples of Type I, and four large triangular palmette stamps. Other examples with the same kind of stamp have been found in a context dated first half of the second

¹ *Ceramica Campana* Type A.

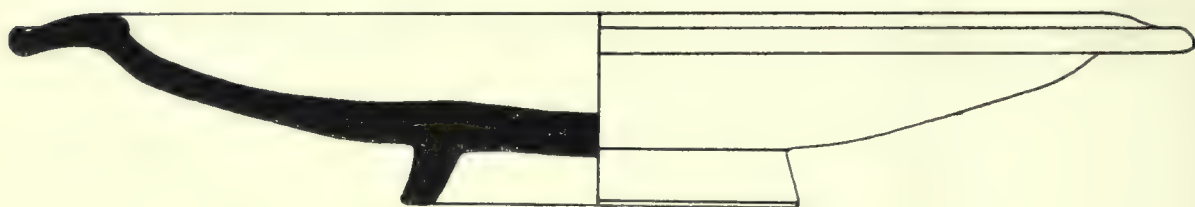
² The rim and body forms of two fragments of Type I, **B 32** and **D 27**, have not been identified. The quality of the glaze of both pieces suggests that they are early products of the type. Each piece is unique.

³ This stacking is illustrated by the pottery from the boat found in the sea near Albenga (*Albenga*) and from the recent excavations off Marseilles (F. Benoît, "L'Archéologie sous-marine en Provence" *RS Lig* 18 (1952) 237-307 and L. Casson, "Sea Digging" *Archaeology* 6 (1953) 221-228).

century (Ampurias), in another dated between the middle of the fourth century and the first decades of the third (Caivano in Campania). The bowls of Type I show greater variety in decoration than the plates. A few of the bowls, probably some of those with incurved rim, have stamped floors. The stamp may be a central one, a rosette or a circle of dots, or a scattered design, four ivy leaves within a circle of rouletting. There is some evidence that the central stamp is the earlier design. Another group of bowls of Type I has encircling bands on the interior of the wall and circles on the floor in thin white paint, a type of decoration peculiar to Type I. It has a long life for it appears in Deposit A and is still in use in the period represented by Deposit E.

Examples of Type I are found in all five deposits of pottery but they are rare in Deposit A and must be one of the latest fabrics of that group. The variations in fabric and workmanship of a single form indicate that several workshops (or potters) were producing the pottery of Type I. The period of its use shows a change in popularity of forms and quality of workmanship. (See the description of individual forms of Type I for a detailed analysis of this change.) The type shows a continuous degeneration in quality of clay and glaze and finish of form. Apparently the demands of mass production made the potter more careless in finishing the piece and applying the glaze.

Type I: *Plate with horizontal offset rim.*



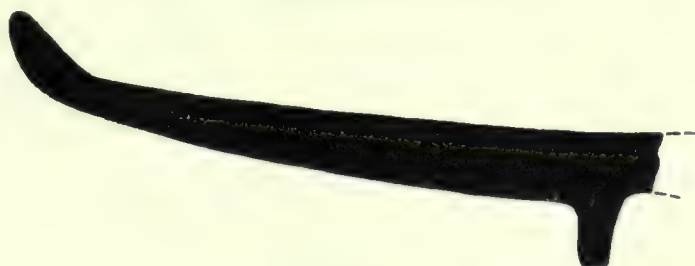
D 1a

(**D 1a**, Pl. XXXIII; **E 1a**, Pl. XLI)

In Deposit D this form has a rim which turns upward sharply at the lip or a horizontal one similar to that of the offset rim of Type II. (See *infra* 154.) It has a low broad foot with almost vertical exterior and slightly oblique interior. The base is level or raised. The floors of identifiable examples have concentric circles and some of the patterns seem to be poor copies of a decoration common on open forms of Type II. (See *infra* 153.) The rim forms of Deposit E are similar to those of Deposit D. Examples with best glaze have rims which turn upward sharply at the lip. Since Deposit D, which has a greater number of examples of the plate of this form, does not show this distinction, the pieces in Deposit E with sharper rims can not be judged earlier. They probably represent a more careful group of potters. The plate with horizontal offset rim in Type I

did not appear at Cosa until the last quarter of the second century B.C., perhaps later. It was probably in use until 40-30 B.C. It is always less common in this type than the plate with upturned rim.⁴

Type I: *Plate with upturned rim.*



D 5a1

(B 8, Pl. XXVI; B 24b; C 4a; C 25; D 5a1, Pl. XXXIII; E 5a, Pl. XLI)

Many examples of this form were found in Deposits D and E. The full profile can be reconstructed from the fragments in these two groups.

The glaze covers the entire surface. The plate has a rim more shallow than the corresponding form of other fabrics. The floor is thick and slightly oblique. The foot is low and broad, with vertical exterior and slightly oblique interior; the base is level or raised. A stacking ring is common. A few floors of examples of this form in Type I are decorated with two concentric circles; others are undecorated. The evidence of these four deposits of pottery indicates that this form was first imported to Cosa near the middle of the second century. It was an extremely popular form in the last quarter of that century and the first sixty or seventy years of the first century. During this period the glaze becomes progressively coarser, the rim shallower. There is no evidence to show whether the simple decoration on some examples, concentric circles on the floor, represents the practice of a period or a casual addition made by individual potters.⁵

⁴ *RS Lig* 20 (1954) 121 fig. 45, from Castiglioncello; *Ampurias* fig. 162 no. 2, dated second half of second century B.C.; *Albenga* fig. 74, from the sea near Genoa (Pegli); *Ceramica Campana* 168 form 6 Type A from Entremont, Saint-Rémy, and Ventimiglia, dated second century and continuing into the first; *Ventimiglia* fig. 47 no. 5, from strato VI B, dated (Nino Lamboglia, "La ceramica iberica negli strati di Albintimilium e nel territorio ligure e tirrenico" *RS Lig* 20 (1954) 85-87) between 180-170 and 100-90 B.C.; other examples from Paestum (Museo Nazionale di Paestum).

⁵ *RS Lig* 21 (1955) 274 and 277 fig. 5, from Vado Ligure; *RS Lig* 20 (1954) 121 fig. 45, from Castiglioncello; *Archaeology* 6 (1953) 222 fig. 5, from the excavations in the sea near Marseilles; *Albenga* fig. 25 no. 1; *Ceramica Campana* 167 form 5 Type A, from Entremont, Saint-Rémy, Ensérune, Albenga, Ventimiglia; *Ventimiglia* fig. 34 nos. 4-7, from strato VI B, fig. 43 no. 3 from strato VI B, fig. 47 nos. 3-4, from strato VI B, fig. 55 no. 2, from strato V. Strato VI B has been dated (see *supra*, note 4) 180-170-100-90 B.C.; strato VI A, 100-90-30-20 B.C.; strato V, 10 B.C.-A.D. 10; F. Mouret, *CVA France* fasc. 6 pl. 22 no. 42; an example from Malta (museum in Città Vecchia in Malta), in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid (case 19).

Type I: *Plate with horizontal recurving rim.*

C 16

(B 6, Pl. XXVI; C 2; C 16, Pl. XXX; C 23a and b; D 3a, Pl. XXXIII)

The single example of this form in Deposit B was found in the fill above the colonnade floor and beneath the basilica floor, an indication that it was imported to Cosa after ca. 167 B.C. but before ca. 140 B.C. The examples in Deposit C show it was in use in a Cosan household or shop near the middle of the second century. The quality of the glaze in the fragments in Deposit D suggests that the pieces are among the earliest examples of the fabric in the fill dumped into the trench. It is not surprising, therefore, that these plates do not appear in Deposit E. The second half of the second century seems to represent the period of their popularity at Cosa.

The form shows some development during this period. As its glaze degenerated in quality the floor of the plate became shallower, the rim less curving and the offset between the two less distinct. Unfortunately few bases can be identified. No conclusions can be drawn concerning developments of its form or the presence or absence of decoration on the floor. The identifiable floors have no decoration. The plate with recurving rim is almost a monopoly of Type I.⁶

Type I: *Plate (or saucer) with re-entrant rim.*

B 34



D 5aII

(B 34, Pl. XXVIII; C 3, Pl. XXX; C 24; D 5aII, Pl. XXXIII)

This form is rare at Cosa. In the pottery of the five Deposits only six examples appear, one in Deposit B, two in Deposit C, two in Deposit D and

⁶ *RS Lig* 21 (1955) 274 and 277 fig. 5, from Vado Ligure; *Archaeology* 6 (1953) 222 fig. 5, from excavations in the sea near Marseilles; *Ampurias* fig. 185 no. 2, dated at the end of the second century, fig. 224 no. 15, dated first half of the second century, fig. 244 no. 2, same date,

one in Deposit E. The example in the last group has a different fabric. The clay of the other five fragments is red-brown or red, the glaze a firm black. It is metallic in one example (C 24). The quality of the glaze indicates that the form was one of the earliest of Type I imported to Cosa.

The rim turns inward abruptly at the lip. The wall is oblique. The shape of the foot is unidentified. On the basis of so few fragments, it is impossible to draw conclusions concerning the development of the plate. The rim of the example in Deposit B is rounded; it terminates in a point in Deposit D, a later group of pottery.

This form of plate (or saucer) in Type I must have been in use at Cosa in the last half of the second century. It apparently did not prove to be popular, either for later importation or for duplication in other fabrics.⁷

Type I: *Bowl with outturned rim.*

D 8a, Pl. XXXV

This form is rare at Cosa. Fragments of two rims were found in Deposit D. The base is unidentified. The clay of the two rim fragments is orange-red, the glaze metallic black, of good quality for Type I. The rim turns outward slightly. The body seems to be angular rather than curved. The quality of the glaze suggests that these fragments are among the early examples of Type I in Deposit D. The absence of the bowl in Deposits A, B, C, and E implies that it did not come to Cosa until after ca. 140 B.C. and that it was not in use in the first century.⁸

fig. 294 no. 4, same date, fig. 295 no. 3, dated middle of second century, fig. 328 no. 8, dated first half of second century, fig. 352 no. 5 (identification uncertain), dated second century, fig. 358 no. 1 (identification uncertain), dated first half of second century, fig. 371 no. 2, dated beginning of the second century; *Ceramica Campana* 183 form 36 Type A, from Ventimiglia, Ensérune and Ampurias, assigned to third, second, and first centuries; *Ventimiglia* fig. 34 no. 1, from strato VI B, fig. 43 no. 1, from strato VI B, fig. 47 no. 6, from strato VI B, fig. 51 no. 2, from strato VI A. Strato VI B has been dated (see *supra*, note 4) 180-170-100-90 B.C.; strato VI A, 100-90-30-20 B.C. F. Mouret, *CVA France* fasc. 6 pl. 22, nos. 40-41; other examples: from Volterra (Museo Archeologico in Florence), from Populonia (same museum, sala XXXI), from Paestum (Museo Nazionale di Paestum), in Madrid (Museo Arqueológico Nacional, sala II, case 23, no. 51).

⁷ *RS Lig* 20 (1954) 121 fig. 45, example from Castiglioncello; *Ceramica Campana* 196 form 55 Type A, the single example cited is from Minturnae. This deposit from which Lamboglia has taken his example is a local one. The Minturnae black glaze pottery I have seen (in the University Museum, Philadelphia) does not have the fabric of Type I of Cosa. *Ventimiglia* fig. 34 no. 17, fabric of Type I, in strato VI B, dated (see *supra*, note 4) 180-170-100-90 B.C.

⁸ *Ceramica Campana* 177 form 28 Type A, examples from Ensérune, Ischia, Minturnae and Ventimiglia cited. The fabric of the Minturnae deposit (see *supra*, note 7) is local. *Ventimiglia* fig. 34 no. 9, fabric of Type I, in strato VI B, dated (see *supra*, note 4) 180-170-100-90 B.C.

Type I: *Bowl with incurved rim.*

The bowl with incurved rim so abundant in Deposit A, the fill of the Capitolium, was probably used for ritual purposes. It is not common in the four later deposits. The basis for the classification "bowl with incurved rim" is the general similarity in size and curve of body of the great number of bowls in Deposit A. The inward curve of the rim, however, shows great variation, and examples in the fabric of Type I, in particular, are scarcely distinguishable from the rimless bowl. Only six of more than 130 bowls in Deposit A belong to Type I. With the exception of one fragment identified, with some doubt, as Type III, Type I is the only one of the major types of imported black glaze represented in the small bowls in the Capitolium Fill. The bowl with incurved rim is the only identifiable form of Type I in the fill of the temple and is, therefore, the earliest form of Type I at Cosa. It is reasonable to assume that the bowls of this fabric in the temple fill are among the latest pieces in the deposit. The bowl with incurved rim can be subdivided on the basis of the presence or absence of painted decoration, that is, narrow encircling bands of thin white paint on the interior of the bowl. (Cf. rimless bowl *infra* 150).⁹

(a) Bowl without painted decoration.



A 22

(A 22, Pl. XX, Pl. XXII, Pl. XLIV; B 42c, Pl. XXVIII; D 10a, Pl. XXXV; D 26aI, Pl. XVIII, Pl. XL; D 26aII (?), Pl. XVIII, Pl. XL)

⁹ *RS Lig* 21 (1955) 274 and 277 fig. 5, from Vado Ligure; *Ampurias* fig. 178 no. 5, fig. 244 no. 16, fig. 232 no. 16, fig. 248 no. 6, fig. 325 nos. 9-10, fig. 332 no. 3, fig. 334 no. 9, fig. 374 no. 10. One of the burials in which the form occurs is dated in the second half of the third century; six are dated to the transition of the third-second centuries and the first half of the second; one is undated. *Ceramica Campana* 176 form 27 Type A, from Ensérune, Minturnae, Azaila, Ampurias, and Ventimiglia. The fabric of the Minturnae deposit (see *supra* note 7) is local. Lamboglia assigns the form to the fourth ("IV secolo avanzato"), third, and second centuries. *Ventimiglia* fig. 23 no. 1, from strato VI, fig. 34 nos. 13-15, from strato VI B, fig. 47 nos. 3-4, from strato VI B, fig. 48 no. 1, from strato VI A, fig. 110 nos. 3-4, from strato V. Strato VI B has been dated (see *supra* note 4) 180-170-100-90 B.C., strato VI A, 100-90-30-20 B.C., strato V, 10 B.C.—

Four of the six bowls of Type I in Deposit A are unpainted. They have a brown-red clay. The firm black glaze is mottled on the upper part of the feet and most of the foot of each example is unglazed. The rim curves inward slightly. The wall is thin and almost oblique. The foot has a rounded exterior, oblique interior. One fragment has a single rosette stamp in the center of the floor. (Stamped bases of Type I are rare at Cosa). Only one fragment in Deposit D curves enough to justify its classification as a "bowl with incurved rim." The foot of this piece is unknown but the same deposit has five stamped bases of bowls of the fabric of Type I. Each of the examples with central stamp, one with a rosette, the other with a circle with dots, has a foot form similar to that of the stamped bowl of Deposit A. The other three bases have four ivy leaf stamps within a circle of rouletting and feet less rounded than the foot of the example in Deposit A. The rims and bodies to match these bases cannot be identified. Most of the bowls of Type I in Deposit D have an outturned rim or no rim at all. There is no evidence in any of the five deposits of pottery that bowls of these forms were stamped. In view of the great number of unstamped bases of Type I in Deposit D it seems reasonable to assume that the stamped bases are not contemporary with most of the bases in that deposit, and that they belong to the earlier form, i.e. **A 22**, with incurving rim. The evidence of Deposit A, combined with that of Deposit D, suggests that the single central stamp was earlier than the scattered ivy leaf form.

Several characteristics of the four bowls in the Capitulum Fill indicate that they are older than most of the other pieces of Type I at Cosa. The glaze is unusually firm and less metallic than that on most of the pieces of this type. The foot is higher than most feet of Type I and its exterior is more rounded.

The unpainted bowl with incurved rim was known at Cosa in the first half of the second century, perhaps earlier. It continued in use during most of that century.

(b) Bowl with painted decoration: **A 23**.

The clay of these two pieces, in contrast to that of the unpainted fragments of **A 22**, is pink-buff, coarse and hard. The glaze is a thin metallic black. The body is more full than that of the unpainted examples. The wall is heavy. The form of the foot is not identified. Narrow bands of white paint encircle the interior just below the rim.

This bowl and the rimless bowl with similar decoration probably are the products of a particular workshop or potter. The bowl with incurved rim occurs only in the Capitulum Fill. It must be the ancestor of the rimless bowl which occurs in the four later deposits.

A.D. 10. Examples from Paestum (Museo Nazionale di Paestum), example from Tarquinia, Type I or very similar (Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese). Rosette stamp: F. Mouret, *CVA* France fasc. 6 pl. 25 no. 3, identical to **A 22**; stamp of circles: *Ampurias* fig. 325 no. 9, fig. 332 no. 3, F. Mouret, *CVA* France fasc. 6 pl. 29 nos. 7 and 9, pl. 30 nos. 1 and 28; stamp of ivy leaves: *Ceramica Campana* 203 no. 6b, from Ensérune; F. Mouret, *CVA* France fasc. 6 pl. 24 nos. 4 and 8, pl. 28 no. 8, pl. 29 no. 1, from Ensérune; *Rome* fig. 139 b, example from Rome.

Type I: *Bowl with incurved rim and angular wall.*

D 10b, Pl. XXXV

This form is represented by only one fragment. Its rim curves inward sharply. The angular outside wall is thickened at the point where the rim turns. The base has not been identified.

The form does not appear in any of the other three major types of black glaze pottery found at Cosa. A larger bowl of the form in a hard buff clay with firm black glaze was found in Deposit C (C 32). Its wall is not thickened at the angle of the body.

The Type I fragment appears in the context which has been dated 130-120-70-60 B.C. The similar form of another fabric occurs in a group of pottery dated 170-160-140 B.C.¹⁰

Type I: *Rimless bowl.*

This form of Type I appears in Deposits B, C, D and E. Since many of the fragments preserve only a small section of the wall and lip, it is impossible to subdivide the form accurately on the basis of angularity or curve of bowl. An obvious division can be made on the basis of painted decoration, that is, the presence or absence of narrow encircling band or bands of thin white paint on the interior of the bowl.

(a) Rimless bowl without painted decoration.



B 39

(B 37c; B 39, Pl. XXVIII; C 8; C 29a; D 9a;
D 13aII; E9aII, Pl. XX, Pl. XLII, Pl. XLIV)

The best examples of this bowl, and probably the earliest, have a thickened lip carefully formed and flattened at an angle on top. This lip is peculiar to Type I. The body of this form seems to be curved. The exact shape of its foot is unknown.

In the later deposits the forms show less careful workmanship and the glaze becomes progressively thinner. In Deposit D, for example, the bowl with care-

¹⁰ *Ampurias* fig. 198 no. 4, from a burial dated 200 B.C.; *Ceramica Campana* 182 form 34 Type A, from Ischia, Entremont, Museo Archeológico Provincial of Tarragona, and Ampurias. Lamboglia assigns the form to the second century.

fully thickened lip is relatively uncommon. The rounded lip is represented by many more fragments. Deposit E seems to indicate that the flattened lip of **B 39** has disappeared. The clay of the unpainted bowls in Deposit E is harder and more granular than that of the painted ones but this distinction is not clear in other deposits.

Fragments in Deposit D show the form of the foot of the unpainted bowl. It is low, with straight or oblique sides. There is no proof that any of the stamped bases belongs to a rimless bowl. The unpainted rimless bowl of Type I first appeared at Cosa about the middle of the second century. It became popular in the last part of the second century and the early decades of the first. It seems to have been less common at Cosa in the last decades of the use of black glaze pottery.

(b) Rimless bowl with painted decoration.



D 13a I
(**B 37b**, Pl. XXVIII; **C 29a**; **D 13a I**,
Pl. XV, Pl. XXXVI; **E 9a I**, Pl. XLII)

The clay is coarse red to red-brown. The glaze, which covers the entire surface, is black, often thinned to brown and metallic.

The lip tapers; the bowl is deep. Most of the fragments suggest an oblique wall which curves just above the base. The foot is low, with straight or oblique exterior and oblique interior and a central turning point. One or two encircling bands of thin white paint, on the interior, just below the lip, decorate the bowl. The floor has one or more commonly two concentric circles in the same white paint.

The examples of the decorated bowl in the four deposits give no indication of a development of form or decoration. Some of the fragments in Deposits D and E have a poor thin glaze. In Deposit E the clay seems to be softer than that of other examples of Type I and the forms of the bases less angular. These distinctions are not recognizable in other deposits. The fragments in Deposit E may represent the products of a single potter.

The rimless bowl with painted decoration was in use at Cosa by the middle of the second century B.C., perhaps earlier. Its ancestor must have been the bowl with incurved rim and similar decoration (**A 23**). It continued in use in the Cosan household during the last half of the second century and the first half of the first, perhaps until the end of the use of black glaze pottery.¹¹

¹¹ *Archaeology* 6 (1953) 222 fig. 5, from the excavations in the sea near Marseilles; *Ceramica Campana*, 182 form 33 Type A, from Ensérune and Ventimiglia. Lamboglia assigns the form

Type II:¹² *Introduction to forms.*

The characteristic fabric of Type II has been described in the Introduction. The best examples are easy to identify. Its hard, finely levigated buff clay and firm black or blue-black glazes distinguish the fragments. In some examples, however, the fabric is similar to that of Type IV. (For the characteristics of Type IV see the introduction to it, *infra* 173.) With the exception of Types I and III and a few individual pieces the majority of the black-glaze pottery of Cosa is composed of a coarse buff or pink-buff clay and dull black glaze, fabrics similar to that of very poor examples of Type II. When the sherds of Type II cannot be distinguished by clay and glazes, other characteristics of the type, its forms and their finish and its decorative devices, usually differentiate it from other fabrics. It has its own repertory of shapes and designs. The distinction between Type II and its copies, most numerous in Deposits D and E, must be made on the basis of the quality of the clay and glaze in combination with the finish of the form.

Cosa imported several forms in the fabric of Type II. The workshops of Type II produced the bulk of the imports of two forms, the bowl with broad foot and curved wall, the cup with similar foot and a flaring wall. Both of these forms have a coarser clay and show less careful workmanship than the best pieces of Type II. With the exception of one fragment of the bowl they do not appear at Cosa before the last decades of the second century. These two shapes of Type II or copies in the local fabric, Type IV, continue in use during the first century. The unusual shape of the feet of these forms may mark them as products of a single potter or small group of potters.

The plates with upturned rim and with horizontal offset rim were more popular than the same forms in other fabrics. They were both known at Cosa before the middle of the second century. At the end of that century and beginning of the next these plates are very common. They continue in use until the advent of *terra sigillata*. The finish of the clay and glaze degenerates a little in the first century and copies become more frequent.

The bowl with outturned rim has two shapes. One, represented by only one example, seems to be a hybrid. It combines some elements of the bowl with broad foot with those of the bowl with outturned rim. This was found in

to the third, second, and first centuries. *Ventimiglia*, examples for which painted decoration is not indicated: fig. 24 nos. 1 and 3 from strato VI, fig. 34 no. 12 from strato VI B, fig. 47 nos. 1-2 from strato VI B, fig. 48 no. 2 from strato VI A, fig. 111 nos. 1-2 from strato V; examples with painted decoration: fig. 23 no. 1 from strato VI, fig. 24 no. 2 from strato VI. Strato VI B has been dated (see *supra* note 4) 180-170-100-90 B.C., strato VI A, 100-90-30-20 B.C., strato V, 10 B.C.-A.D. 10. F. Mouret *CVA France* fasc. 6 pl. 23 nos. 8-11, all with painted bands; no. 8 has, in addition, ivy leaves between the bands; example without decoration from Paestum (Museo Nazionale di Paestum); example with decoration from Castiglione (Museo Archeologico in Castiglione).

¹² *Ceramica Campana* Type B.

the deposit dated 170-160-140 B.C. The more common form has a flattened rim and deep rounded bowl. It occurs in all five deposits. The rimless bowl with curved wall is rare in Type II. The only example which can be identified with certainty occurs in Deposit D, dated 130-120-70-60 B.C.

The workshops of Type II produced the pyxides most common at Cosa. Examples in a firm black or blue-black glaze were imported about the middle of the second century. The quality of the glaze is still good near the end of that century; it degenerates somewhat in the first century. Copies of this form are not common. Lids and pitchers in Type II are rare.

Type II has several characteristic forms of the foot. One, limited to bowls with curved wall and cups with flaring wall, is low and broad. Its sides are sharply oblique; the resting surface is very narrow. The pyxis has a high foot with a groove on the inside at the juncture with the floor. In examples with better glazes it turns outward in a curve, with poorer glazes it is more angular. Plates and most of the bowls have level or raised feet which turn outward near the bottom. The interior is straight or oblique. A small offset on the interior appears on several examples.

The type employs several kinds of decorative devices. The bowls with broad feet have one or two grooves on the exterior just below the lip. Many plates and bowls have concentric circles and rouletting on their floors. Two techniques of floor decoration are peculiar to Type II. A stamp of a central flattened knob surrounded by a depressed ring occurs on plates. This degenerates into a single or double circle made with a blunt instrument which both Type II and imitations of it use. Plates and bowls have patterns of four stamps, usually alternating pairs, in the free area between a small central circle and one or two pairs of larger concentric circles. Decorated floors are the rule for plates and bowls of Type II. There is some evidence that the stamps disappear in the course of the first century; the rings and rouletting seem to continue in use.

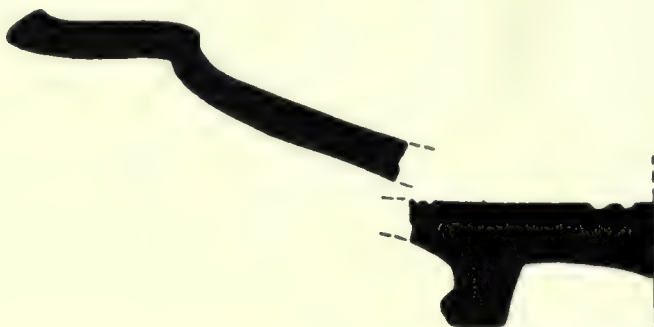
The pottery of Type II was imported to Cosa in small quantities in the first half of the second century. The bowl with outturned rim, plates with horizontal and with upturned rims were the earliest forms known at Cosa. They occur in Deposit A but must be among the latest pieces in the temple's fill. The pyxis and the bowl with broad foot are added to the repertory about the middle of the second century. The small plate on a high foot, the cup with broad foot, the rimless bowl, the pitcher and the lid all appear in the deposit dated 130-120 70-60 B.C. All the forms of Type II continue in use in the first century, most of them until the arrival of red-glaze wares.

Several of the forms of Type II inspired a great number of copies in the first century, perhaps earlier. Fragments of Type II outnumber those of any other fabric in Deposit D, which is dated 130-120-70-60 B.C. In this deposit the clay and glaze of most of the pieces of the type show careful workmanship. In the period of the Pottery Dump, 110-100-40-30 B.C., the clay and glaze have deteriorated somewhat but the fabric is still common. In contrast to Type I, Type II maintained a relatively high level of workmanship until some-

time in the first century. At Cosa it is the black glaze pottery *par excellence* in the late second and first centuries.

Some of the forms and decorative devices of Type II have bucchero or impasto ancestors, e.g., the plate with horizontal offset rim, the small plate on a high foot, and the floor pattern of a central knob and pairs of concentric circles; other forms seem to be derived from Greek forms, e.g., the bowl with broad foot resembles a Greek cotyle, the cup with flaring wall is a stemless chalice. In comparison with the other fabrics represented at Cosa, Type II has more forms in common with the "Hellenistic-Pergamene" ware of the eastern Mediterranean area. In addition, forms and decorative details of Type II seem to have a greater affinity to Arretine ware, e.g., the plate with sharply upturned rim and the floor pattern of rings and rouletting.

Type II: *Plate with horizontal offset rim.*



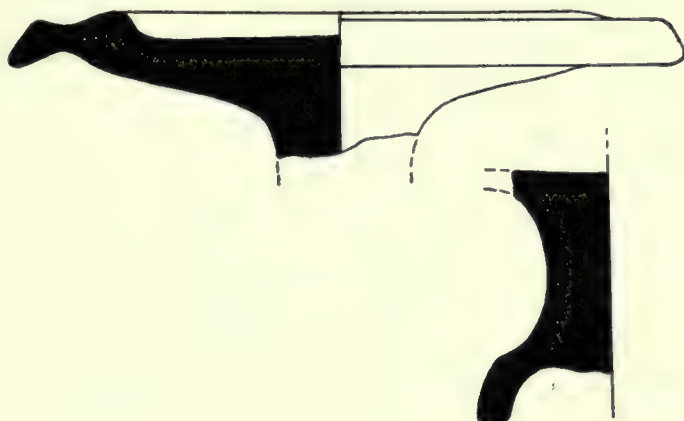
D 1b

(A 6, Pl. XXI; B 26, Pl. XXVII; D 1b, Pl. XXXIII; E 1b, Pl. XLI)

The plate with horizontal offset rim was extremely popular at Cosa in the late second century and most of the first. Type II examples, which seem to be the earliest ones in this form in use at Cosa, were imported sometime in the first half of the second century, probably in the second quarter. By the last part of the second century the form appears in several fabrics but the Type II form and its copies are the most common. There is no visible change in form in the early period of its use at Cosa. At the peak of its popularity it has a well-formed rim set off distinctly from the body. The rim has a point on top near the lip. The foot turns outward near the bottom, rises obliquely on the inside. It is level or raised. The floor has two large concentric circles and a central stamp of a flattened knob surrounded by a depressed ring. The form of Type II plates prompted copies in other fabrics. In the course of the first century the clay of the Type II examples becomes coarser, the glaze deteriorates. The rims and feet are less precise in their angularity and the central

stamp degenerates to one or two circles made with a blunt instrument. It is difficult to distinguish the poorest examples of Type II from its copies in the local fabric, Type IV.¹³

Type II: *Small plate on a high foot.*



D 2a
(D 2a, Pl. XXXIII; E 2a, Pl. XLI)

This form is not common at Cosa. In Deposit D eight of the fifteen examples have the fabric of Type II, six of the remaining seven, in the fabric of Type IV, copy the Type II form. In Deposit E also, copies are relatively common. The pottery in use at Cosa in the second and first centuries indicates that the relative difficulty of transportation was an important factor in the pottery trade. The shape of this form would certainly have discouraged transportation in great quantities and encouraged local products.

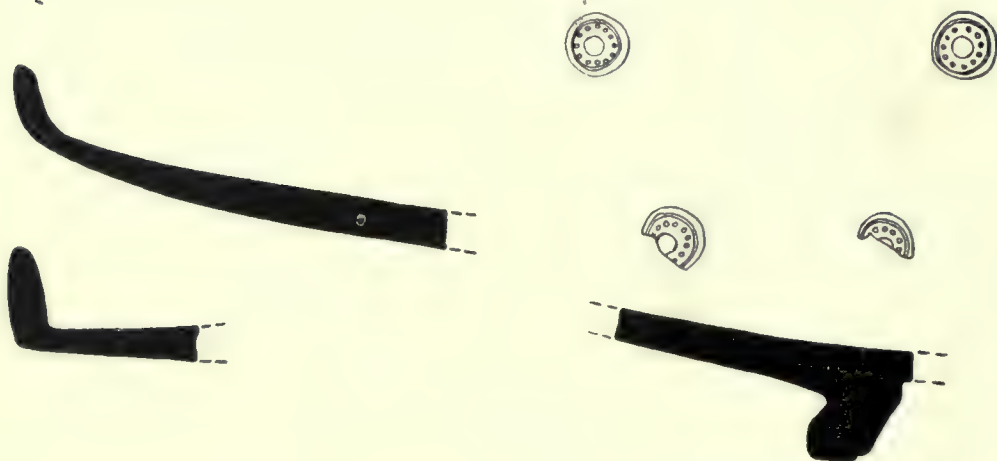
The examples in Deposit D are sturdy and well-formed. The rim is heavy and offset from the floor. Its profile shows a curved rather than an angular form. The floor has a pattern of concentric circles, a small one in the center and a pair of larger ones. Fine rouletting between the two larger circles distinguishes one example. (Both circles and circles with rouletting are common decorative devices on open forms of Type II.) In Deposit E the rims and bodies of the form have thinner, more fragile walls. The shape of the foot of this plate varies. The example in Deposit D with the best glaze is slender and

¹³ *Ceramica Campana* 147 form 6 Type B, from the museum of Alba, Ventimiglia, and Museo Nazionale of Syracuse; *Ventimiglia* fig. 35 no. 25 in strato VI B, dated (see *supra* note 4) between 180-170 and 100-90 B.C.; other examples: one from Falerii Veteres, (Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia in Rome), one from Volterra (Museo Guarnacci in Volterra, *camera* 9), one, Type II or very similar, in Arezzo (Museo Archeologico Mecenate, no. 1307).

convex at the bottom. The lower part of it is hollowed. Other examples have a foot which curves outward at the bottom.

The plate with high foot was imported to Cosa about the end of the second century or the beginning of the first. It continued in use during the first century.¹⁴

Type II: *Plate with upturned rim.*



D 5b

D 6b

(A 7, Pl. XXI; B 23a, Pl. XXVII; C 4b; C 25; D 5b, Pl. XXXIII; D 6b, Pl. XXXIV, Pl. XII Pl. XIII, Pl. XIV; E 5bI, Pl. XLI, Pl. XIX; E 5bII, Pl. XLI)

The plate with upturned rim had a long period of use at Cosa and great popularity. The simplicity of its shape made it handy to use and easy to manufacture. The smaller version, at least, was convenient to transport. These plates were imported to Cosa sometime in the first half of the second century. (The examples of the fabric of Type II in Deposit A must be among the latest pieces in that group.) They became common in the last quarter of that century and continued in use during the first century.

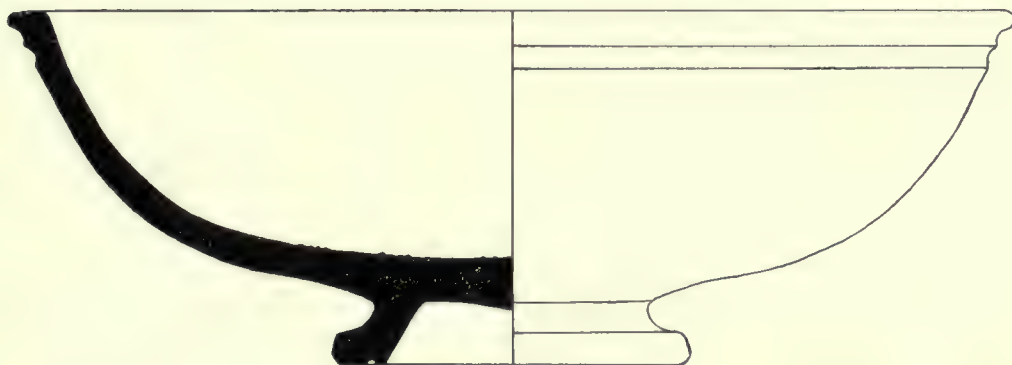
The smaller plate, which was much more common than the larger version, had oblique walls. They gradually became thinner and lost the thickness at the curve of the rim. The larger plate had a vertical rim. There is no evidence from Type II examples for change in the form of its rim. The copies of it, however, show increasing thinness and depth of rim. The feet of both sizes of plate are carefully formed in the examples with best glazes. The exte-

¹⁴ *Ceramica Campana* 145 form 4 Type B, from San Miguel de Sorba, Azaila, Rome and Ventimiglia; *Ventimiglia* fig. 27 no. 15 from strato VI A; dated (see *supra* note 4) 180-170-100-90 B.C. fig. 32 no. 32 from strato VI B; dated 100-90-30-20 B.C.; *CVH* pl. 59 no. 27; example from Volterra (Museo Archeologico in Florence).

rior is angular, the interior frequently offset near the bottom. This shape does not deteriorate greatly. The plates in Deposit E give ample proof that the black glaze pottery of Type II maintained a relatively high quality of workmanship until red-glaze wares began to replace the black. The same deposit shows, however, that copies of Type II plates become increasingly common at Cosa. It is not surprising that in Deposit E the number of copies of the larger plate exceeds the number of the real product. Plates of this size would have been heavy and cumbersome to transport.

The plates of Type II show diminishing use of decorative patterns on the floor. In Deposit D all floors have a central circle and one or more pairs of larger concentric circles. Most of them (16 of 20) have rouletting between the larger circles and stamps in the free central area. One exception has stamps instead of rouletting; the three others, rouletting but no stamps. Two of these without stamps have poor glazes. The imitations of this form in the same deposit have no stamps. In Deposit E only one of approximately twenty examples bears a stamp and all others have simple rouletting and concentric circles or no decoration. Apparently stamps on plates of Type II were rare in the first century and they were beginning to disappear before 70-60 B.C.¹⁵

Type II: *Bowl with outturned rim.*



C 20

(A 14, Pl. XXII; A 15, Pl. XXII; C 20, Pl. XXX; D 8b, Pl. XXXV; D 26bI, Pl. XVIII, Pl. XL; D 26bII, Pl. XVIII, Pl. XL; E 8a, Pl. XLII; E 19bI, Pl. XIX, Pl. XLII; E 19bII, Pl. XIX, Pl. XLII)

The examples of this form with the firmest glaze are carefully profiled. The rim is flattened on top, a finish characteristic of Type II. This is rare in other fabrics and occurs only in conjunction with a glaze of good quality. The

¹⁵ Smaller plate: *RSLig* 21 (1955) 274 and 277 fig. 5, from Vado Ligure; *Ampurias* fig. 260 no 3, burial dated second half of second century; *Ceramica Campana* 146 form 5 Type B, from Rome, Ensérune, and Ventimiglia; *Ventimiglia* fig. 23 no. 5 from strato VI, fig. 24 no. 8 from strato VI, fig. 35 nos. 28-30 from strato VI B, fig. 43 nos. 2-3 from strato VI B, fig. 44 no. 9

bowl of the Type II fabric is deeper and more rounded than the corresponding form in other fabrics. The foot turns outward near the bottom. The bottom of the base is flat, with no central turning point. A stacking ring is common. On the floor there is a pattern of a central circle and two pairs of larger concentric circles with four stamps, usually alternating pairs, in the open area between the small and larger circles. (Since the floor of this bowl is broad it is sometimes impossible to distinguish its base from that of the plate with the upturned rim. They seem to have similar floor patterns.)

This form is common in Deposit D. The fragments in Deposit A must be among the latest pieces in that fill. By the first century, represented by Deposit E, the form has become more rare. The bowl, therefore, must have had its peak of popularity in the last decades of the second century. Fragments of rims show some variation in form and quality of glaze. The more rounded rim is associated with poorer glaze. There is no indication of a change in the base. The stamped patterns appear in Deposit E as well as D.

The bowl in Deposit C seems to be a hybrid, combining elements of the bowl with broad foot and the bowl with outturned rim. Its rim is flattened on top. The body is shallow with full curve. The low outturned foot has a groove in the resting surface. Two grooves encircle the bowl just below the rim. The floor has a pattern of a small central circle surrounded by four crude palmettes which, in turn, are enclosed in large concentric circles and fine rouletting. The fabric, flattened rim, grooves below the rim, curved shape of bowl, outturned rim, and general type of decoration on the floor are all characteristics of Type II. This combination of elements, the groove in the resting surface, a characteristic of Type III, or an identical floor pattern is not repeated on any other example at Cosa.

Two bases, **D 26b II** and **E 19b II**, have a peculiar grey-buff clay and a blue glaze which covers the entire surface. Each has some characteristic of Type II but they do not resemble each other. The color of the clay and glaze of **D 26b II** is probably due to an accident of firing. The base from Deposit E has a variation in the shape of the foot which might justify assigning it to a separate workshop.¹⁶

from strato VI B, fig. 48 no. 5 from strato VI A; bases: fig. 23 no. 7 from strato VI, fig. 27 no. 9 from strato VI A, fig. 35 nos. 33 and 36 from strato VI B, fig. 51 nos. 4-5 from strato VI A, fig. 52 no. 6 from strato V, fig. 110 nos. 1 and 3 from strato V. Strato VI B has been dated (see *supra* note 4) 180-170-100-90 B.C.; strato VI A, 100-90-30-20 B.C.; strato V, 10 B.C.-A.D. 10. Example from Castiglioncello (Museo Archeologico in Castiglioncello), one from Volterra (Museo Guarnacci, *camera* 9), examples from Archena (Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid, *sala* II, case 22, no. 33957), from Galera (same museum, *sala* II, case 18), from Azaila (same museum, *sala* II, case 40). Larger plate: *Ceramica Campana* 148 form 7 Type B, from San Miguel de Sorba and Ventimiglia; *Ventimiglia* fig. 48 no. 5 from strato VI A, fig. 52 no. 7 from strato V.

Cf. Stamps: *NS* (1949) 255 fig. 31e from Cagliari; G. H. Chase and M. Z. Pease, *CVA USA* fasc. 8 pl. 31 no. 1; *Rome* fig. 140c, fig. 141a, fig. 141b; *NS* (1934) 52 fig. 5, from Arezzo; W. Van Ingen *CVA USA* fasc. 3 pl. 27 no. 7, pl. 33 nos. 3 and 7; *NS* (1920) 193 fig. 9a and b, from Arezzo.

¹⁶ This form does not appear in Lamboglia's classification in *Ceramica Campana*, or in Almagro's additions to it in *Ampurias*. Cosa bowl **C 20** is somewhat similar to Lamboglia's form 8

Type II: *Rimless bowl with curved wall.*



D 9b

D 9b (?), Pl. XV, Pl. XXXV; **D 9c**; **E 9b**, Pl. XLII)

This shape in the fabric of Type II is rare at Cosa. Only one example can be identified in its full form. Its lip tapers; its bowl is shallow with thin wall. It has a high foot which flares outward at the bottom. The floor has a pattern of a dainty ring and rouletting surrounding four leaf-like stamps which radiate from a small central circle. The variation from other forms of Type II in the shape of the foot and the floor pattern suggest that this bowl may be the product of a workshop which did not send many of its wares to Cosa. It is impossible to draw conclusions about a development of the form. It occurs at Cosa in the deposits of the late second and first centuries.¹⁷

Type II: *Bowl with broad foot and curved wall.*



E 14a

(**B 41a**, Pl. XXVIII; **D 16a**, Pl. XVI,
Pl. XXXVI; **E 14a**, Pl. XLII)

A single fragment of this shape occurs in Deposit B. The full form is clear from the fragments in Deposits D and E. The bottom of the foot is sometimes glazed, sometimes reserved. Variation in application seems to mark pro-

in Type B (*Ceramica Campana* 148). The example cited there is from Ampurias. Example in Type II (or very similar) from Arezzo (Museo Archeologico Mecenate no. 1305), example in the Museo Arqueológico of Barcelona and the museum in Ampurias. Cf. stamps referred to in note 15.

¹⁷ *Ampurias* fig. 248 no. 5 (like **D 9b**), example dated 200-150 B.C. Cf. fig. 354 no. 1, similar bowl with heavy foot. *Ceramica Campana*, 148 form 8 Type B, from Museo Arqueológico of Barcelona; imitation of form 8 from Castiglione (Museo Archeologico in Castiglione).

ducts of different potters rather than a difference in date of manufacture. Most of the fragments have two encircling grooves on the exterior just below the rim. The wall is almost vertical, curved just above the low broad foot. The foot has oblique sides and narrow resting surface. The floor has a central circle and two larger concentric circles made with a blunt instrument.

The shape is a very common one in Deposits D and E. Most of the examples do not have the fabric of Type II but show attempts to copy details of Type II. Many of the copies have the fabric of Type IV. The examples of Type II show, by comparison, more careful workmanship in attention to quality and finish of clay, application of glaze and decorative details.

This form was first imported to Cosa about the middle of the second century. Even the best examples of it have a glaze which is poor in quality for Type II and this implies that the form was a late product of the type. It had great popularity, and prompted many copies, in the last decades of the second century and first part of the first. If conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the large number of examples of the form in Deposits D and E, the relative scarcity of Type II examples in Deposit E indicates that copies of Type II competed on the market and almost eliminated Type II products in the first century. Deposit E, which has a *terminus post quem* of 110-100 B.C., has only two examples of the Type II fabric compared with more than twenty-five imitations.¹⁸

Type II: *Cup with broad foot and flaring wall.*



D 17a

(D 17a, Pl. XVI, Pl. XXXVII)

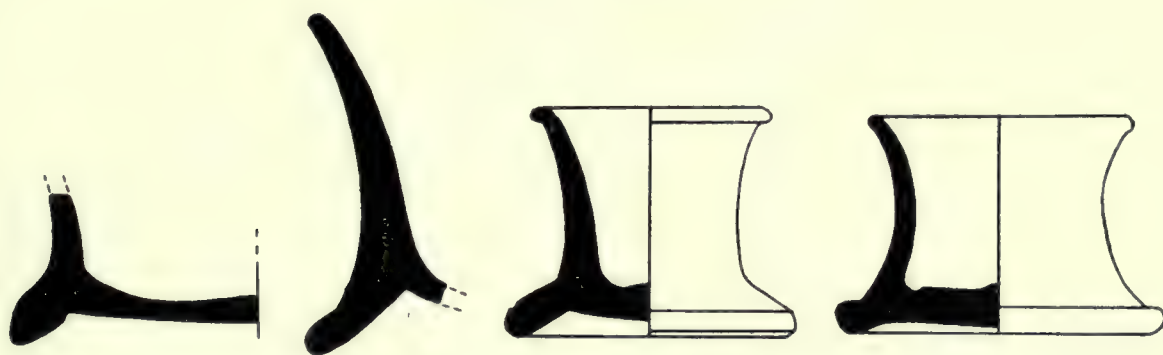
This form of Type II is found in only one deposit. The clay has a rough finish; the glaze, thin and metallic, covers the entire surface. The wall flares outward and joins the floor at a sharp angle. The foot is broad, with oblique

¹⁸ *Ceramica Campana* 143 form 1 Type B, from Ventimiglia, Gergovie, Rome, Ampurias, Azaila, San Miguel de Sorba. *Ventimiglia* fig. 20 nos. 35-36 from strato V, fig. 23 no. 4 from strato VI, fig. 27 no. 13 from strato VI A, fig. 35 nos. 26-27, 35 from strato VI B, fig. 44 no. 7 from strato VI B, fig. 47 no. 10 from strato VI B, fig. 48 no. 8 from strato VI A, fig. 52 no. 5 from strato V,

sides and narrow resting surface (cf. the shape of the foot of the preceding form). Only one example has any decorative detail, the two encircling grooves on the exterior just below the lip. The form is not common at Cosa. Deposit D has twelve examples, ten identified as Type II, one as Type III, and one of another fabric. Deposit E has seven, two of Type III and five which imitate the form of Type II.

The cup with broad foot seems a close parallel in form, quality of workmanship, and period of use to the bowl with broad foot. It is not known at Cosa before the last decades of the second century, the period of the great popularity of the bowl of Type II. The cup with flaring wall in other fabrics is in use in the first century but the Type II product has left the market. There is no evidence for a development of the form. The workmanship is never careful; the glaze is poor in quality.¹⁹

Type II: *Pyxis*.



D 19a

(C 11; C 34; D 19a, Pl. XVII, Pl. XXXVII; E 17a, Pl. XLII)

Pyxides of the fabric of Type II account for most of the examples of the form at Cosa. There are no other fabrics in the pyxides of Deposit C; in Deposit D twelve of the sixteen examples have the fabric of Type II and in Deposit E the proportion is approximately the same. The examples not of Type II represent a variety of fabrics. Most of them are similar in form to the examples of Type II. At least four of the six in Deposit E can be identified as Type IV, a local fabric.

fig. 55 nos. 5-6 from strato V, fig. 110 no. 2 from strato V. Strato VI B is dated (see *supra* note 4) 180-170-100-90 B.C.; strato VI A, 100-90-30-20 B.C.; strato V, 10 B.C.-A.D. 10. J.-J. Hatt, "Les fouilles de Gergovie" (1943-44) *Gallia* 5 (1947) 293 fig. 7 no. 16; *CVH* pl. 59 nos. 9-10, 12-13.

¹⁹ *Ceramica Campana* 144 form 2 Type B, from Ampurias, Ventimiglia, Azaila, San Miguel de Sorba, and Ensérune; *Ventimiglia* fig. 27 no. 11 from strato VI A, fig. 55 no. 6 from strato V. Strato VI A (see *supra* note 4) is dated 100-90-30-20 B.C.; strato V, 10 B.C.-A.D. 10. *CVH* pl. 59 nos. 21-22; example from Talamone (Museo Archeologico in Florence), imitation of form from Castiglioncello (Museo Archeologico in Castiglioncello).

In its earliest form the pyxis of Type II has a high rounded foot with a groove between the interior of the foot and the base. The foot is lower and more angular in examples with poorer glaze. The changes in lip and body form are less clear. The form of the pieces in Deposit E suggests that examples which curve outward more are earlier. The glaze covers the entire surface and remains relatively firm, better than that of many other forms of Type II.

The pyxis of Type II was being imported to Cosa by the middle of the second century. It was in use in the late second century and part of the first. The consistency of the quality implies a short life for the form. By the late second or early first century imitations of the form of the pyxis of Type II were in use but the Type II product continued.²⁰

Type II: *Pitcher*.



D 21c

(B 45, Pl. XXIX; D 21c (copy), Pl. XXXVII; E 18a)

Although the full form of a pitcher of Type II does not exist in any of the five deposits it can be reconstructed from copies in the local fabric which use the elements of Type II forms. Deposit D has fragments of three such pitchers in a buff clay and dull black glaze. The glaze covers the entire sur-

²⁰ *RS Lig* 18 (1952) fig. 19, from the excavations in the sea near Marseilles; *Ceramica Campana* 145 form 3 Type B, from Ensérune; *Ventimiglia* fig. 27 no. 14 from strato VI A fig. 35 no. 31 strato VI B, fig. 51 no. 6 strato VI A, fig. 97 no. 2. Strato VI B is dated (see *supra* note 4)

face. The rim turns outward; the neck is thick. The pitcher has two handles which take off just below the rim and join the body about half way down the side. The handles are thin, elliptical in cross section, sometimes ribbed. The foot is high and turns outward at the bottom. The pieces which can be identified with certainty as the fabric of Type II are too fragmentary to give information on the development of the form. (The identity of the piece **B.45** as a part of a pitcher is not certain).

The chronological span of the fragments of the Type II pitcher extends from ca. 170 B.C. to the end of the use of black glaze pottery. The copies occur in Deposits D and E, that is, from 130-120 B.C. to 40-30 B.C.²¹

Type II: *Lid.*



B 52a **E 21a**
(**B 52a**, Pl. XXIX; **E 21a**, Pl. XLIII)

Each of the two examples of lids in the fabric of Type II has a unique form. The two have no similarities except in the fabric. The example in Deposit B has a form and floor pattern of concentric circles very like those of the small pedestalled plate (see *supra* 155). The angle of the rim of this fragment suggests that it is a lid, not a pedestalled form. The rim is sharply profiled. The handle tapers but the form of its termination is not known. This piece indicates the form was in use at Cosa before ca. 140 B.C.

The angle of the rim of the fragment in Deposit E is not clear. The rim is profiled, less distinctly than that of the example in Deposit B, in a manner similar to that of the rim of the Type II plate with horizontal offset rim. The lid is not complete. Deposit E has been dated 110-100—40-30 B.C.²²

180-170—100-90 B.C.; strato VI A, 100-90—30-20 B.C. Example from Talamone (Museo Archeologico of Florence, no 10552); imitation of Type II from Saturnia (same museum) and from Tarquinia (Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese) and from Castiglioncello (Museo Archeologico in Castiglioncello).

²¹ *Archaeology* 6 (1953) 222 fig. 5, from the excavations in the sea near Marseilles; *Ceramica Campana* 149 form 10 Type B, from Museo Arqueológico Provincial of Tarragona, Ampurias, and Azaila; *CVH* pl. 59 no. 2; imitations of Type II from Castiglioncello (Museo Archeologico in Castiglioncello) and from Tarquinia (Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese).

²² Not in Lamboglia's classification in *Ceramica Campana* or Almagro's additions to it in *Ampurias*.

Type III: ²³ *Introduction to forms.*

See the Introduction for a description of the clay and glaze of Type III. Although it is not difficult to differentiate Type III from the other fabrics represented in these five groups of pottery, it is impossible to describe the type accurately in terms of its forms or a development of them. Few shapes can be fully identified. Fragments of others suggest that a great number were produced, some of which must have been relatively complicated and unusual. ²⁴ A single example, a small bowl with incurved rim, not definitely identified as Type III, appears in Deposit A. A fragment of a plate with upturned rim, several closed forms, and a lid are in Deposit B, a plate with horizontal offset rim, the bowl with outturned rim and a figurine in Deposit C, plates with upturned and horizontal rims, bowls with outturned rims, bowls with broad foot, cup with broad foot, a pyxis, a pitcher, a lid, and a molded head of a bird in Deposit D, plates with upturned and horizontal rims, a rimless bowl, bowls with outturned rim, a bowl with broad foot, a cup with broad foot and a lid in Deposit E. The fabric seems to have been best known at Cosa in the second half of the second and early first centuries. Many of its forms were imported but, in comparison with Types I and II, not in great quantity. The unusual forms, the bird's head, the figurine, the form with spout, imply that the workshops producing in the grey clay were supplying the decorative and novelty pieces, perhaps the luxury pottery, for the Cosan household in the last half of the second and early first centuries.

A large number of the fragments are composed of a soft grey clay. Almost every form made in a gray clay has at least one example in a clay of soft texture: the plate with upturned rim (**B 23b**, **D 5cI** and **III**), the plate with horizontal rim (**C 1a**, **D 1cI**), the bowl with outturned rim (**B 36b**, **D 8cI**, **E 8b**), the rimless bowl (**B 40**, **E 9c**), the bowl with broad foot (**E 14b**), the cup with flaring wall (**D 17b**, **E 15a**), the pyxis (**D 19b**), the pitcher (**D 21b**), the bird's head (**D 25**) and the figurine (**C 15**). Since many of these forms occur also in harder clay, the texture cannot be offered as a criterion for distinguishing a workshop. A form of foot peculiar to Type III is restricted to certain plates and bowls in soft grey clay. These are found in Deposits D and E. The foot is low and broad, with straight or outturned exterior and oblique interior. It has a groove in the resting surface. The groove on the upper surface of the rim of a bowl with outturned rim (**E 8b**), also in a soft clay, probably indicates a similar taste in the finish of a piece. There is some evidence suggesting that the pieces of soft clay were produced within a limited period of time. The single fragment of Type III in Deposit A has a very hard clay. Only a few

²³ *Ceramica Campana* Type C.

²⁴ Six forms of Type III remain unidentified: the closed form of **B 46** (clay medium in texture), the figurine of **C 15** (clay soft), the head of a bird of **D 25** (clay soft), the spouted form **D 29a** (clay hard and granular), the form with outturned rim of **E 8bII** (clay medium) and the closed form with handle, **E 20** (clay soft). The last piece is probably part of an askos.

of the pieces in Deposit B have a soft clay and only two in Deposit C. Many of the pieces in Deposit D, however, and some in Deposit E have a very soft clay. This distribution would seem to indicate that the soft grey clay was, primarily, a product of the last half of the second century, perhaps even the last quarter, and the early years of the first.

A method of application of glaze is peculiar to Type III. The glaze on the exterior of a bowl with incurved rim (**B 42d**), several plates with upturned rim (**D 5cI**) and a bowl with broad foot (**E 14b**) is limited to the upper part of the body. Since the bowl with incurved rim is composed of a hard clay, the plates and the other bowl of a soft one, this technique of application can not have been limited to one texture of clay. If the forms in soft clay represent a taste which developed in the last part of the second century, the bowl of **B 42d** would then be an earlier product of the same workshop or potter, **D 5cI** and **E 14b** the later ones.

In Deposit D two other groups of grey clay can be distinguished but the forms of these are not clear. One group has a hard grey clay and thin black glaze which peels easily. The plates with upturned rim (**D 5cII**) and bowls with outturned rim (**D 8cII**), can not be distinguished from the corresponding forms in soft clay. The fragment of a plate with horizontal rim (**D 1cIII**) has a unique form. The offset for the rim has almost disappeared and the floor of the plate has a peculiar curve. The form probably represents poor workmanship or an accident in the kiln rather than an attempt at originality. The hardness of the clay, the poor quality of the glaze of the examples in this group, and the peculiar form of **D 1cIII** suggest that these pieces are overfired examples rather than fragments of an unusual fabric.

The second group has somewhat stronger evidence to recommend it as a separate workshop. Three forms, a bowl with broad foot and curved wall (**D 16bI**), a form with spout (**D 29**), and a lid (**D 30**), all are composed of a hard granular grey clay. Their glazes are dull black. The relative rarity of these shapes suggests that they represent a single workshop or potter specializing in the production of such forms. The other identifiable example of the bowl with broad foot was found in Deposit E. Its clay is soft but the form of its foot is very different from that of **D 16bI**. The form with spout is the only example in a grey clay. Lids of grey clay were found also in Deposits B and E. The form of the example in Deposit B seems to be similar to that of **D 30** but the composition of the clay is not identical. They might be products of the same workshop. The example in Deposit E is too fragmentary to be used as evidence of a similar form. Its clay is also hard.

The forms of the feet of Type III, except for the group mentioned above, have no distinguishing characteristics. Several fragments show forms with high raised feet with rounded exteriors and oblique interiors but they have no other signs of unity. The most common floor pattern is concentric circles. Rouletting and stamps are rare. The bowl in Deposit A has a depressed rosette on center of the floor. A base in Deposit E has a deep star stamp within

the rouletting. A fragment of a floor in Deposit D (**D 6cII**) has a stamp similar to those of Type II.

It is significant that several pieces of Type III duplicate Type II in form and/or decoration. A shallow rimless bowl in Deposit B has a pattern of concentric circles similar to that of Type II. This pattern is so common in the second century, however, that it cannot be considered evidence of copying. There is a possibility that a workshop producing a hard grey clay was imitating the forms of Type II and that Type II, on the other hand, copied some of the forms of the workshop (or centers) producing a soft clay. It is unlikely that the evidence of a single site could prove these hypotheses. That of Cosa is offered as a suggestion. The bowl with broad foot, the plate with upturned rim, the plate with horizontal offset rim, and the bowl with outturned rim, all common forms in Type II, were made in a hard grey clay. At Cosa the Type II examples were found in earlier contexts. The forms of a pyxis and a rimless bowl of soft grey clay are each duplicated by a single example in Type II. The examples of grey clay occur in earlier contexts. This copying did not alter the production of Type II or Type III. At least some forms of Type III, in clays both hard and soft in texture, continued production in a tradition independent of Type II.

The poor condition of the fragments of Type III and their relative rarity at Cosa give little opportunity for observation of development of the forms. The clays and glazes have deteriorated so much that the original quality of many pieces has been lost. The type is interesting more for its variety of forms than for its role as a competitor on the market at Cosa.

Type III: *Plate with horizontal offset rim.*



D 1cI

D 1cII

(**C 1a**; **D 1cI**, Pl. XXXIII; **D 1cII**, Pl. XXXIII; **D 1cIII**; **E 1c**; bases of plates: **C 26c**; **D 6cI**, Pl. XXXIV; **D 6cII**, Pl. XXXIV; **E 6aI**, Pl. XLI; **E 6aII**, Pl. XLI)

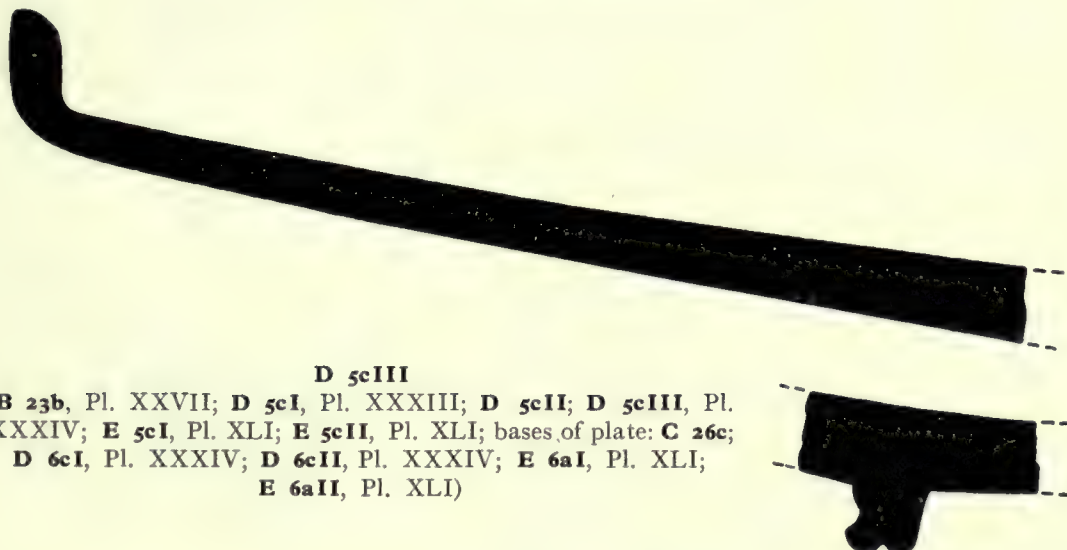
This plate occurs in the soft grey clay in Deposits C and D, only one example in the first and four in the second. (A base of an open form was found in Deposit E. Similar bases occur, however, in plates with upturned rim.) The rims are carelessly finished. A fragment of a floor of an unidentified open form (**D 6cII**) has a stamp similar to one found on Type II forms.

All fragments in the clay of harder texture occur in Deposits D and E. The pieces seem to show a difference in the depth of color and quality of glaze. The plate of lighter color in Deposit D has almost no rim offset. It is prob-

ably a potter's error rather than an intentional variation of the form. Another fragment of rim in the same deposit, with darker clay and firmer glaze, has a thin wall. The two pieces of this shape, in the lighter grey clay, in Deposit E give no additional information on the form of the rim. They have concentric circles and rouletting on the floor. The bases of the plate with horizontal offset rim in the clay of harder texture cannot be distinguished from those of other open forms. (See discussion of plate with upturned rim *infra*). The two possible shapes are the low raised foot with vertical exterior, oblique interior (**C 26c**) or a higher foot with rounded exterior and oblique interior. One example of the latter (**D 6cI**) has concentric circles on the floor, another (**E 6aII**) has rouletting with a deep star stamp within it.

The plate with horizontal offset rim in grey clay is never common at Cosa. Identified fragments of the form in the soft texture occur in deposits which give a chronological span of 170-160—70-60 B.C. Identified pieces of the harder texture are confined to the two deposits which give a span from 130-120—40-30 B.C. The rim forms show no consistency in the grey clays as a whole, or even in the clays of different textures, that is, there is no evidence of a standard form comparable in consistency to that of Type II.²⁵

Type III: *Plate with upturned rim.*



D 5cIII
(**B 23b**, Pl. XXVII; **D 5cI**, Pl. XXXIII; **D 5cII**; **D 5cIII**, Pl. XXXIV; **E 5cI**, Pl. XLI; **E 5cII**, Pl. XLI; bases of plate: **C 26c**; **D 6cI**, Pl. XXXIV; **D 6cII**, Pl. XXXIV; **E 6aI**, Pl. XLI; **E 6aII**, Pl. XLI)

At least two textures of grey clay are represented by this form. The shapes of the plates in a soft grey clay can be reconstructed from the pieces in Deposit D. A smaller plate has a slightly oblique floor and incurved rim. The lower part of the body is often unglazed on the exterior. It has a low straight-

²⁵ *Albenga* 167-168 nos. 2-3 fig. 26; *Ceramica Campana* 158 form 6 Type C, example from Museo Nazionale of Syracuse, from the excavations of the amphitheatre, examples from Tindari.

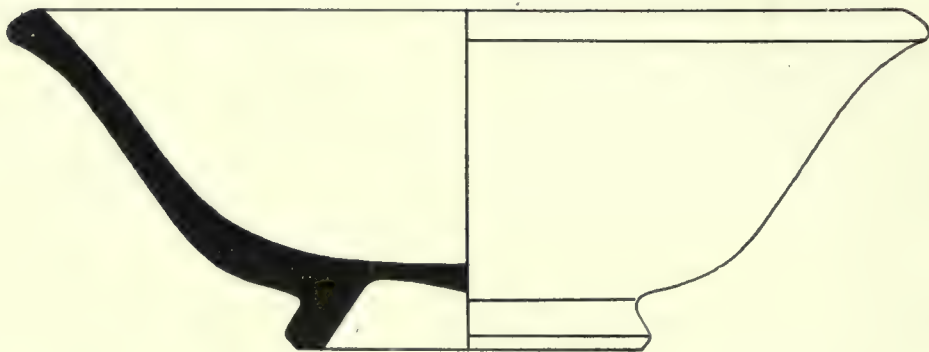
sided foot. Its floor has a pair or pairs of concentric circles. A larger plate has a horizontal floor and vertical rim. It has a low angular foot, as well as the straight-sided version. Its floor has concentric circles or circles and rouletting. Both sizes of plates have a groove in the resting surface, a peculiarity of Type III.

With the exception of an unusual plate, **B 23b** (see *infra* for a discussion of it), plates of the soft grey clay were not brought to Cosa before the last decades of the second century. The rims are similar to those of the corresponding forms of Type II; the feet are peculiar to Type III. There is no evidence for a development of the forms. Fragments of open forms in the soft clay are rare (a single base) in the Pottery Dump, a first century deposit.

Rims of the same forms in a grey clay of harder texture occur in the two Deposits D and E but with relatively greater frequency in the later one. The base of this form in the harder clay cannot be differentiated from those of other open forms. One fragment in Deposit E preserves enough of the floor to show a pattern of circles and rouletting. Two bases in Deposit C have low raised feet, vertical on the exterior and oblique on the interior. The other two bases, **D 6cI** and **E 6aII**, have high raised feet with rounded exteriors, oblique interiors. One example has concentric circles on the floor; the other has rouletting with a deep star stamp within it.

A unique base of a plate in Deposit B (**B 23b**) has the soft texture clay and color of glaze peculiar to Type III. The clay, however, is buff and the form of the foot is similar to that of Type II. The floor has two pairs of concentric circles. This base does not seem to be a poorly fired example of Type II. Since the evidence of these five deposits of pottery shows that the Type II plates were earlier than those of Type III, this piece may represent an attempt to copy the form of Type II in the fabric of Type III.²⁶

Type III: *Bowl with outturned rim.*



D 8cI

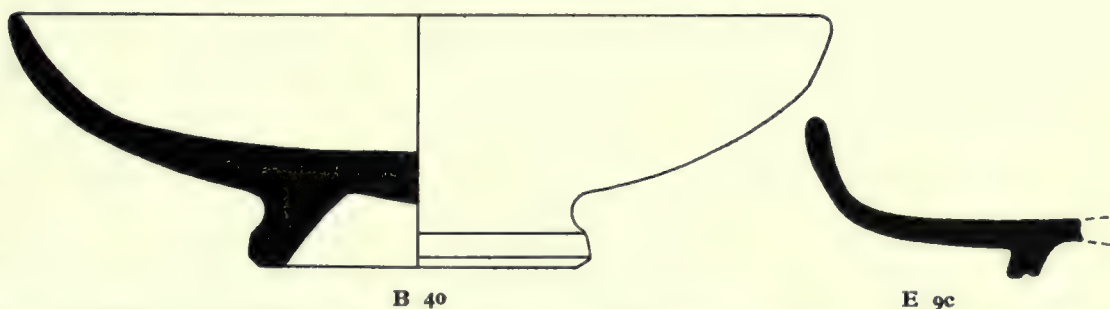
(**B 36b**, Pl. XXVIII; **C 7a**; **C 28a**; **D 8cI**, Pl. XIV, Pl. XXXV; **D 8cII**; **E 8bI**, Pl. XLII; **E 8bIII**; bases of bowls, **C 14a**, **D 26cI**, Pl. XL; **D 26cII**; **D 26cIII**, Pl. XL; **D 26cIV**, Pl. XL)

²⁶ Smaller plate: *Ceramica Campana* 158 form 5 Type C examples from Tindari, example from Museo di Cavallon, from Ventimiglia; *Ventimiglia* fig. 27 no. 20 from strato VI A, fig 55

The more common form of bowl with outturned rim at Cosa (**B 36c**, **C 7a**, **C 28a**, **D 8cI** and **II**, **E 8bIII**) varies in texture of clay from soft to hard, fragments of both textures appearing in Deposits B and D. There is no evidence in this form that the differences in texture have significance for variations in form or chronology. None of the examples shows workmanship of high quality. The rim of this group is rounded or flaring outward. In Deposit D, where the full shape can be identified, an example in soft clay has a flaring rim, thick wall and raised foot with rounded exterior, oblique interior. The floor is undecorated. The high foot of **C 14a** and **D 26cI** and **II** may belong to bowls with outturned rim or rimless bowls. Some of them have concentric circles on the floor. This form of bowl was imported to Cosa about the middle of the second century or earlier. It is relatively common in the deposits of the end of the second century and the first century.

The other form of the bowl with outturned rim (**E 8bI**) is represented by a single fragment of rim and body. It has a soft clay with many impurities. Its glaze is a thin red-brown, the color apparently the result of careless firing. The rim is wide and almost horizontal with an encircling groove on top. Although the fabric of this piece is unusually poor in quality, the form probably shows the same tradition of craftsmanship as the plates with upturned rim and rimless bowl which have a groove in the resting surface. The feet of these two forms are low. The best candidate for the foot of this shape of bowl is the unidentified low outturned foot of **D 26c III** or **IV**. Deposit D has a closing date of 70-60 B.C. This fragment of rim occurs in the first century deposit.²⁷

Type III: *Rimless bowl.*



B 40

E 9c

(**B 40**, Pl. VIII, Pl. XXVIII; **E 9c**, Pl. XLII; bases of bowls: **C 14a**; **D 26cI**, Pl. XL; **D 26cII**)

no. 9 from strato V. Strato VI A is dated (see *supra* note 4) 100-90—30-20 B.C.; strato V, 10 B.C.-A.D. 10. Larger plate: *NS* (1951) 270 fig. 8 and 275, from Syracuse; *Ceramica Campana* 150 form 7 Type C, example from Ventimiglia, examples from Museo Nazionale of Syracuse, from Tindari, example from Museo di Cavaillon; *Ventimiglia* fig. 48 no. 11 from strato VI A; example from Castiglione (Museo Archeologico in Castiglione) from Malta (museum in Città Vecchia in Malta).

²⁷ *NS* (1951) 270 fig. 8, from Syracuse; *Ceramica Campana* 160 forms 17, 18, 19, Type C: form 17, example from Museo Nazionale of Syracuse, form 18, from same museum, form 19, example from same museum and from Ventimiglia. The Cosa examples seem to be form 19;

These two bowls, **B 40** and **E 9c**, have very little in common. They both have a soft clay. The bowl in Deposit B has a dull, thin black glaze over the entire surface. Its high foot curves outward near the bottom. The floor has a pattern of two concentric circles close to the center and two more almost over the foot. In form of foot and pattern on floor this bowl is similar to Type II. A base (**C 14a**), similar in shape but with hard clay, may be part of a similar bowl. It has no floor pattern. The six bases in Deposit D (**D 26c I** and **II**) have rounded feet and may belong to bowls of similar form. The clay of these pieces varies from soft to hard. Five of them have concentric circles on the floor in a pattern similar to one of Type II; the other is undecorated. The bowl **B 40** is dated about the middle of the second century, perhaps somewhat earlier.

The bowl in Deposit E, a first century deposit, has a broad floor and a low foot. There is a groove in the resting surface, a device common in plates with upturned rim. The floor is decorated with pairs of concentric circles.²⁸

Type III: *Bowl with incurved rim.*

A 24 (?), PL. XXII; **B 42d**

Only two examples of this form in the fabric of Type III occur in the five deposits. One, not identified with certainty, is in the group of small ritual bowls found in the fill of the Capitolium. It has a very hard clay and a firm black glaze which is slightly iridescent. The inside of the foot is unglazed. The bowl has a thin wall. Its low heavy foot is similar in form to **A 21b**, rounded on the exterior and oblique on the interior. On the floor a central rosette stamp has been pressed deeply into the clay.

The fragment in Deposit B has a hard grey clay which is roughly finished. Its dull grey glaze covers the interior and only the upper part of the exterior. The method of applying glaze is used on some of the plates with upturned rim (with soft clay) of Type III. It seems to be a peculiarity of the type. The form of the foot of this bowl is not identified.

These two examples suggest that the bowl with incurved rim of Type III was in use at Cosa in the first half of the second century, perhaps as late as the beginning of the second half. The differences between the two bowls are so great that they cannot be attributed to a chronological development alone. They must come from different hands or workshops.²⁹

however, some of the pieces are too fragmentary to show the distinctions in form which Lamboglia has recognized. *Ventimiglia* fig. 52 no. 12 from strato V, dated (see *supra* note 4) 10 B.C.-A.D. 10.

²⁸ *Ceramica Campana* 161 form 20 Type C, example from Museo Nazionale of Syracuse; *Ventimiglia* fig. 27 no. 21 from strato VI A, dated (see *supra* note 4) 100-90-30-20 B.C. (Identification of the form of this example is uncertain).

²⁹ *Ceramica Campana* 176 form 27. Lamboglia has not given this form in Type C.

Type III: *Bowl with broad foot and curved wall.*



D 16b II **E 14b**
(**D 16b I**, PL. XLIV; **D 16b II**, Pl. XXXVI; **E 14b**, Pl. XLII)

The bowl with broad foot in a grey clay is relatively rare. Only two fragments (**D 16b I** and **E 14b**) can be identified with certainty. They differ in the texture of the clay, application of glaze, and form of foot.

The example in Deposit D, **D 16b I**, has a hard granular clay. A dull black glaze covers the entire surface. The rim is not known. In form of the foot and curve of the lower part of the body this piece is identical to the corresponding form of Type II. The other base in the same deposit has a lower, less angular foot. Its clay is soft.

The fragment in the Pottery Dump (**E 14b**) has a soft grey clay and dull black glaze. As in the case of some of the plates with upturned rim of Type III, the glaze covers the interior and only the top of the exterior. The form of the rim is not known. The foot is low, curved on the exterior, oblique on the interior. It has a broad resting surface. On the floor, a pattern of three concentric circles, a small one in the center and a pair of larger ones, is incised.

Of the two examples of this form of bowl which can be identified, one, with hard clay, comes from the deposit dated in the late second and early first centuries, the other, of softer texture, from the deposit of the first century.³⁰

Type III: *Cup with broad foot and flaring wall.*



E 15a
(**D 17b**, Pl. XXXVII; **E 15a**, Pl. XLII)

The three fragments of this form, one in Deposit D and two in Deposit E, have a soft grey clay and dull black glaze. The rim flares outward more than that of the corresponding form of Type II. The form of the foot is unknown.

³⁰ *Ceramica Campana* 157 form 1 Type C, two example from Syracuse.

As in the case of the cup of the fabric of Type II, this form seems almost contemporary with the bowl with broad foot in identical fabric.

The cup of Type III occurs in the deposits of the late second and first centuries.³¹

Type III: *Pyxis*.

D 19b, Pl. XXXVII

The two bases of the pyxis of Type III have a soft grey clay and dull black glaze. The glaze seems to cover the entire surface. The curve of the body and rim is unknown. In shape the foot is almost identical with one of the examples of Type II. It is rounded on the exterior. On the inside of the foot at its juncture with the base a groove is incised.

These examples occur in the fill of the trench south of the Capitolium. Its *termini* are 130-120 and 70-60 B.C.³²

Type III: *Lid*.



B 52b
(B 52b, Pl. XXIX; D 30,
Pl. XL; E 21b)

One fragment was found in each of three deposits: B, D, and E. Each has a hard or relatively hard clay. The examples in Deposits B and D have firm black glazes; the one in Deposit E has a thinner coat. The form is simply profiled. The shape of the top is not known.

The shape, since it occurs in Deposit B, was known at Cosa by ca. 140 B.C. It was in use, but rare, in the late second and first centuries. There is no evidence of a change in form.³³

Type III: *Pitcher* (?)



D 21b
(D 21b; Pl. XXXVII)

³¹ *Ceramica Campana* 157 form 2 Type C, example from the Museo Nazionale in Syracuse.

³² *Ceramica Campana* 158 form 3 Type C, one example from the Museo Nazionale in Syracuse, another from the Museo Arqueológico in Barcelona.

³³ Lamboglia has not given this form in *Ceramica Campana*.

The identification of this form is uncertain. The clay is clearly the soft grey of Type III but the glaze has disappeared completely. The two examples, each of which preserves rim and neck only, differ in form. One has a tapered rim, narrow neck and flaring body. It is thick at the neck and rim. The other has an outturned rim and thick neck similar to the form of the pitcher of Type II.

Deposit D dates in the last decades of the second century and the first part of the first.³⁴

Type IV: *Introduction to forms.*

The variations in the fabric of Type IV have been given in the Introduction. The type has two distinct groups of forms: one a repertory peculiar to it, the other copies of the forms of other fabrics, primarily those of Type II. The former group was recognized from the evidence of Deposit C, the deposit in Section 16 of the house adjoining the basilica, supplemented by the fill, part of Deposit B, between the colonnade and basilica floors. This group, with the exception of two forms, is not common in earlier or later deposits, that is, the group was almost confined to the middle of the second century, before the importation of Types I and II in quantity. The latter group is common in the two latest deposits. It is clear that the workshops of Type IV produced their own forms in the second century, but that when Types I and II came to the market of Cosa, they stopped this production and began to copy the forms of these new types.

Most of the earlier forms of Type IV, that is, those in Deposits B and C, are simple: rimless saucer, saucer with furrowed rim, bowl with outturned rim, with ribbon-band rim, rimless bowls with curving, angular, or vertical wall. Most of these forms occur in shapes peculiar to Type IV, but the plate with horizontal offset rim, a form in Types I and II, also occurs. The plate with recurving rim, the small plate on a high foot, the plate with profiled rim, the plate with forked lip, the bowl with thickened lip, the pyxis, pitcher, and a large jar are found in other deposits. Of these forms the plate with profiled rim, the plate with forked lip, the bowl with thickened lip, the pyxis, the large jar, and the pitcher occur in Type IV in shapes unique or different from those of the other identified types.³⁵

³⁴ *Ceramica Campana* 149 form 10. Lamboglia has not given this form in Type C.

³⁵ Some forms in the fabric of Type IV have not been identified. A base, **A 9**, with unusual form and stamp pattern is puzzling. The foot is very thin, with oblique walls and narrow resting surface. On the floor four rows of rouletting encircle a stamped pattern consisting of a central palmette surrounded by four stamps, alternating palmettes and stylized tree (?). Another example in an unidentified fabric, **C 26e**, has the same narrow foot and a comparable stamp formation. Since none of the other identified bases of Type IV has the angularity of example **A 9**, the identification of the fabric as Type IV may be open to question. Such a precise stamp pattern is not usual in Deposit A; it is rare in Deposit C. Both bases, **A 9** and **C 26e**, probably reflect a late third or early second century taste in stamp decoration. The unusual form of the foot

With the exception of the earliest form of the type, the small bowls in Deposit A, the most conspicuous characteristic of Type IV is the angularity of its saucers and bowls. They were turned, glazed and fired with little care. The results were clumsy but sturdy shapes. The walls are rather thick; the feet are heavy with rounded or oblique exteriors, oblique interiors and central turning points.

Decorative devices are no more complicated than the shapes. With the exception of the bowls in Deposit A, the forms have unstamped floors. Rouletting and/or concentric circles are not common. (For another exception see *supra* 173, note 35.) The potters of Type IV had a fondness for adding encircling grooves on bowls and plates. Some of these grooves were used to accentuate the form, as, for example, on the saucer with furrowed rim and the bowl with ribbon-band rim. Since several of the forms of Type IV are descendants of ones which had had as long tradition (see the description of individual forms), all the grooves may be remnants of earlier and more complicated forms. Some of the bowls with incurved rim in Deposit A have simple stamp patterns, central stars or rosettes or scattered palmettes, rosettes, or \cup stamps.

The clumsy, heavy forms of Type IV, the local fabric, are no compliment to the taste of the Cosan housewife. The plates, bowls, and pyxides of Types I, II and III must have been her "better dishes." Her household ornament was the little figurine of Type III.

Type IV: *Plate with horizontal offset rim.*



D 1dI

(**C 1b**; **D 1dI**, Pl. XXXIII; **D 1dIII**; **E 1e**, Pl. XLI)

This form in Type IV, as in Type III, shows no standard shape. It seems to be attempting to pattern itself after Type II. The three examples in

of **A 9** must be a copy of some imported fabrics. The base **C 26e** may represent this import. The base of a form **C 14b** has a unique floor pattern. Circles of coarse rouletting surround faint palmette stamps. The foot has a form characteristic of Type IV. This base seems to combine the rouletting of some of the bowls of later deposits with the stamp of the small bowls in Deposit A. The full form represented by a rim fragment, **D 18**, can not be identified. It seems to be part of a bowl with flaring wall and outturned rim, a form not duplicated in other fabrics in any deposit. It has a decorative device typical of Type IV: two grooves on the exterior just below the rim. One of the stands in Deposit D (**D 28a**) seems to have the clay and glaze of Type IV. The identification is not certain.

Deposit C have rims similar to those of Type II. The bowl is deeper. The thirty-five examples in Deposit D have great variety in the shape of the rim. Most of them are similar in form to Type II. The only identifiable base has a floor design of concentric circles like a degenerate example of Type II. The foot of this base has oblique sides and a conspicuous central turning point. Other bases of plates have patterns of circles or rouletting on the floor.

In Deposit E it is difficult to distinguish plates of Type II from its copies. Examples of Types I and II seem to be more plentiful than local copies. The peak of the production of the copies of Type II occurs in the late second century.

Several examples of this plate in Type IV are very large, an indication that the local product is supplying the market with pieces which would be heavy to transport.³⁶

Type IV: *Small plate on a high foot.*

D 2bI, Pl. XXXIII; **D 2bII**

One example, **D 2bI**, has a very angular profile and deep floor. The form of the foot is not known. Since the glaze of the fragment is firm, the plate is probably one of the earliest examples of Type IV in the deposit, that is, it dates in the late second century rather than the first. Six other examples from the same deposit imitate the form of Type II.

The small plate on a high foot, either in Type II or in its copies, was not common at Cosa. The form of the foot shows so much variation, in Types II and IV, that it is impossible to determine if the local product has forms independent of Type II.³⁷

Type IV: *Plate with upturned rim.*

B 9, Pl. XXVI; **D 5dII**; **E 5dI** and **II**; bases: **D 6dII**, **E 6dI**, and **II**

The plates with upturned rim in Type IV are copies of the two sizes of Type II. They differ from them only in quality of workmanship and decorative devices on the floors. Type IV is usually devoid of decoration; a few examples have circles or rouletting. A single example of Type IV occurs in Deposit B. Copies of the smaller plate of Type II are extremely common in Deposit D. Copies of the larger plate are relatively more common in Deposit E.³⁸

³⁶ *Ceramica Campana* 147, 158, 168 form 6.

³⁷ *Ceramica Campana* 145, 167 form 4.

³⁸ *Ceramica Campana* 146, 158, 167 form 5; 148, 159 form 7.

Type IV: *Plate with horizontal recurving rim.***D 3b****E 3**

(B 25, Pl. XXVII; D 3b, Pl. XXXIII; E 3, Pl. XLI)

The example in Deposit B has a narrow curving rim and shallow bowl; that in Deposit D has a rim with fuller curve. The glaze of the latter suggests that it is one of the earliest examples of Type IV in the deposit. The fragment in Type IV in Deposit E is the only example of this form in the deposit. Its firm glaze indicates that it is one of the oldest pieces in the deposit, if not an intrusion. Its rim has a shallow curve; its floor is oblique rather than curved.

Plates of the workshop of Type I supplied the market of Cosa with this form. Copies of it are rare. All three examples of Type IV probably date in the last half of the second century. They seem to reflect the change in shape visible in examples of Type I, a decrease in the curve of the rim and floor. The base of the form in Type IV is indistinguishable from that of other plates.³⁹

Type IV: *Plate with wide rim which forks at lip.***B 28**

(B 28, Pl. XXVII)

The single fragment of this form is in the local fabric. This and the plate (or shallow bowl) with profiled rim, **D 1d II** and **D 8d II**, are the only forms in Type IV which seem to be unrelated to the angular forms so characteristic of the fabric or to the forms of other major types which Type IV copies. It is worth noting that both these forms have parallels in the eastern Mediterranean.

The closest parallels in form to **B 28**, however, occur in impasto and bucchero.⁴⁰

³⁹ *Ceramica Campana* 183 form 36.

⁴⁰ Not in *Ceramica Campana*.

Type IV: *Plate (or shallow bowl) with profiled rim.*



D 1dII

D 8dII

(**D 1dII**, Pl. XII, Pl. XXXIII; **D 8dII**, Pl. XXXV)

At least three of the five examples of this form were made in workshops of Type IV. They show a change in form of rim and body which is probably a development. One example, **D 1dII**, has a divided rim. The top of it is flattened; the other segment turns outward. The floor curves. The upper side of the rim bears an ovolo pattern. The other two in the same fabric, **D 8dII**, have a simpler rim, an oblique floor and no stamp on the rim. The form of the base of this plate is not known.

Another example with stamped rim in Deposit D has a soft whitish clay. It may be an underfired example of Type IV.

Deposit D, in which the examples of Type IV occur, is dated 130-120-70-60 B.C.⁴¹

Type IV: *Saucer with furrowed rim.*



C 27b

(**B 11**, Pl. VI, Pl. XXVI; **B 35**, Pl. XXVIII; **C 6**; **C 27a**, Pl. XXXI; **C 27b**, Pl. X, Pl. XXXI
C 27c; **D 7**, Pl. XXXV, Pl. XLIV; **E 7a**, Pl. XLII)

This form was common at Cosa. The clay shows variations in color but its texture and finish remain the same. It is hard and rough on the surface. The glaze is firm on the earliest examples, thinner on those in Deposit D. The single fragment in Deposit E has a firm glaze, an indication that it is one of the earliest pieces in that group. The glaze is frequently metallic and mottled red near the base. Stacking rings are common.

⁴¹ Not in *Ceramica Campana*.

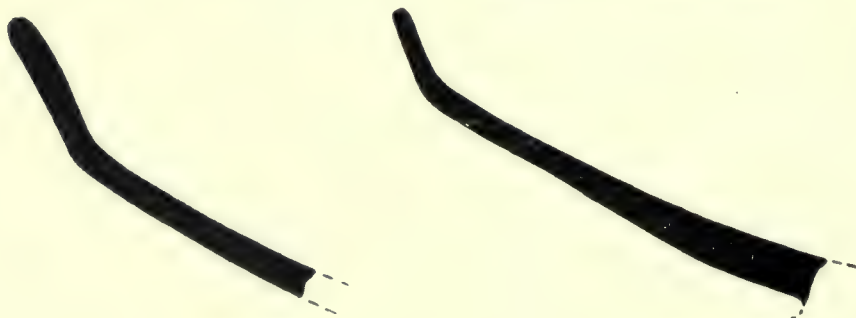
In general, examples with the firmest glaze have drooping rounded rims. The walls are slightly curved. The feet are usually rounded on the exterior, oblique on the interior. Most of the bases have a central turning point. The proportions of the saucer give it a sturdy, well-balanced shape. Almost all examples have a single furrow on the top of the rim. A few in Deposit D are furrowed on both sides of the rim. Decorations on the floor are rare. One example in Deposit B has four rows of rouletting; a few in Deposit D have rouletting.

Eight examples of this saucer were found in Deposit B, in the fill beneath the basilica floor and above the colonnade floor; twenty-one were found in Deposit C, in Section 16 adjoining the basilica. This is one of the forms common to the two areas which give strong evidence that the occupancy of Section 16 was contemporary with the period of the colonnade's use before the construction of the basilica. This interval has been fixed by coins as 170-160—ca. 140 B.C. Since there are no examples of this saucer in Deposit A, which probably overlaps Deposit B by a few years in its other areas, the examples of this form in these areas are, no doubt, late in the period of Deposit B and contemporary with the examples found above the colonnade floor.

The saucers show some but not much variation in the shapes of the rim and foot. The greatest variation exists, however, within the relatively short period of Deposit C and the contemporary part of Deposit B. They must represent variations of a workshop rather than chronological developments. The fourteen examples in Deposit D, compared with one (plus one in another fabric) in Deposit E indicate that the form was in use in the late second century but probably not in the first.

The shape is a virtual monopoly of Type IV. The piece in Deposit E is the only example in another fabric. The form is probably a descendant of the "fish plate." An example of the "fish plate" in the fill of the Capitolium, **A 2**, for example, has much in common with the saucer with furrowed rim. Such an ancestry would explain the drooping rims on saucers with better glazes.⁴²

Type IV: *Rimless saucer (or plate) with angular wall.*



B 12

C 17

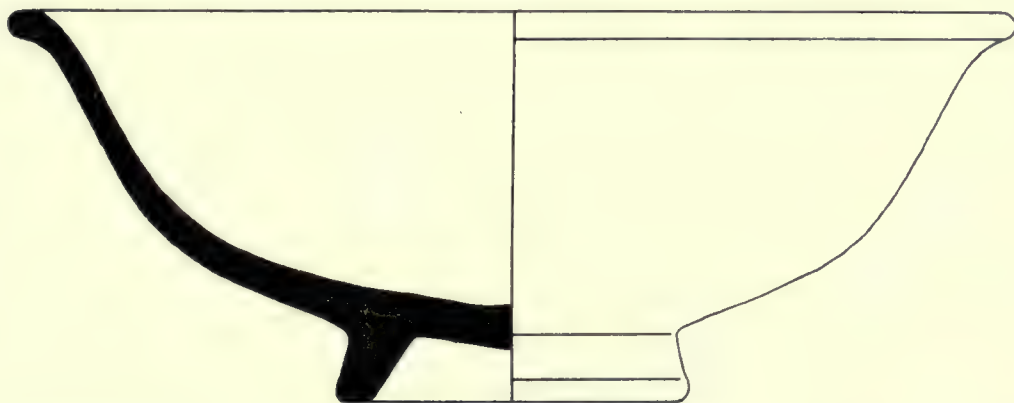
(**B 12**, Pl. XXVII; **C 13**; **C 17**, Pl. XXX; **C 36**; Pl. XXXII; **D 13bII**, Pl. XXXVI)

⁴² Not in *Ceramica Campana*. Examples with similar fabric and form: from Tarquinia (Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese). Examples with similar form; from Tuscania (Museo Archeologico

This form is very simple. In the best examples in Deposit B the lip is rounded; it is usually blunt. The wall is oblique, with a slight angle not far from the top. The base has not been identified. It must have been similar to the one found on all the other forms of Type IV, a heavy foot with rounded exterior and oblique interior. Some of the fragments in Deposits C and D have rouletting on their floors. There is no evidence of development in the form. It is neither graceful nor stable in appearance, for the angularity of the wall gives it an ungainly character.

This form, found in Deposit B in the fill between the colonnade and basilica floors, is one of the shapes common to this area of the basilica fill and Deposit C which gives evidence that Section 16 (Deposit C) is contemporary with the period of the colonnade's use before the construction of the basilica. Seventeen of the twenty-four examples recorded in the three deposits occur in Section 16 and the area of the basilica fill directly above the colonnade floor. The form was in use by the middle of the second century, perhaps a few years earlier. It must have disappeared in the late second century. The oblique plate with upturned rim which was so common in Deposit D must have taken its place.⁴³

Type IV: *Bowl with outturned rim.*



C 28b

(B 36a, Pl. VIII, Pl. XXVIII; B 37d, Pl. XXVIII; C 7b, Pl. XXX; C 18, Pl. XXX; C 28b, Pl. XI, Pl. XXXI; D 8dI, Pl. XXXV; D 8dIII; D 13bI, Pl. XXXVI; E 8d, Pl. XLII)

This is the most popular form of bowl at Cosa in the period represented by Deposits B, C, D and E, that is, from 170-160 B.C. to 40-30 B.C., the end of the use of black glaze. There is some evidence for development of the form.

in Florence, no. 75310, and the museum in Tarquinia), from Talamone (Museo Archeologico in Florence), from Volterra (Museo Guarnacci), from Arezzo (Museo Archeologico Mecenate, no. 1291), and from Castiglioncello (Museo Archeologico in Castiglioncello, tomb XL, no. 246).

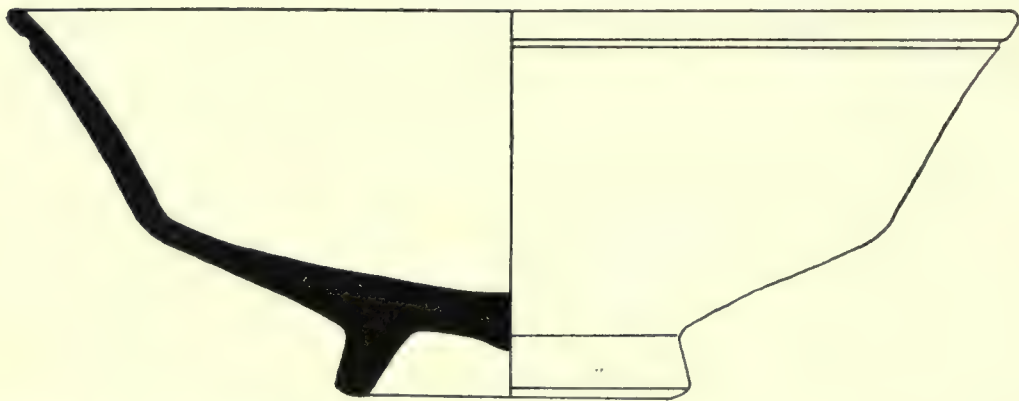
⁴³ Not given in *Ceramica Campana*. Example, Type IV, in the Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese.

Since it seems to vary from a sharply outturned rim to no rim some examples appear in the catalogue under the classification of "rimless bowls."

The bowl in Type IV first occurs in Deposit B. The example in that fill which has the best glaze has a horizontal flattened rim. The other twenty-seven examples have outrolled rim or flaring wall with no rim. The five examples of Type IV in Deposit C have forms similar to that of **C 28b**. The rim flares outward, the body is curved. The foot has a rough finish on the exterior and it is almost oblique on both sides. There is a conspicuous central turning point. One of the examples in Deposit D and some in Deposit E with comparatively good glaze turn outward; the other examples flare outward or have no rim.

The rims which turn outward sharply may be imitations of the Type II bowl. The great number of bowls with flaring rim in Deposit B shows that the flaring rim was already popular by the middle of the second century and probably earlier. Since no examples of the Type IV bowl occur in Deposit A, the only evidence that the piece with flattened rim in Deposit B is earlier than the others in the same deposit is the good quality of its glaze. The same distinction in rims and qualities of glaze in Deposits D and E, however, argues against a development from a bowl with flattened rim to a bowl without rim. The most common form of Type IV has a flaring wall and outturned rim. The rimless bowl is relatively more common in later deposits.⁴⁴

Type IV: *Rimless bowl with angular wall.*



C 29b

(A 18, Pl. XXII; B 38; C 10; C 19a; C 29b, Pl. XI, Pl. XII; Pl. XXXII; E 11, Pl. XLII)

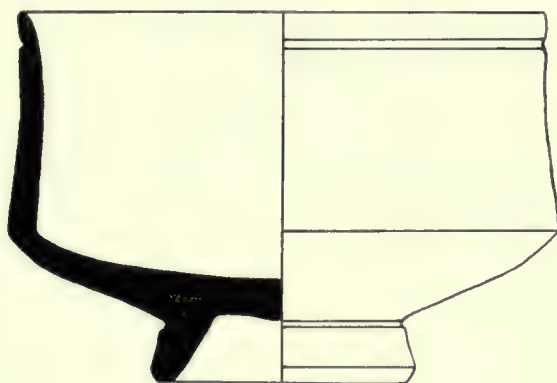
This bowl has a rounded lip and angular wall. Its foot is carelessly finished, almost angular on the exterior, oblique on the interior. The central

⁴⁴ *Ceramica Campana* 177 form 28. Examples of a similar form: from Ensérune and Minturnae; *EVP* 244 ii, from Cerveteri, from Sovana; F. Mouret *CVA* France fasc. 6 pl. 22 nos. 32, 50, 58; *Minturnae* type 18 pls. 1 and 3; *Athens* C 3 fig. 28, D 2-6 figs. 55, 115, and 117, E 33-34 fig. 83 and 117. The examples in Groups D and E are close parallels in form to the Cosa bowls. *Antioch IV* 12 no. 42 pl. 2; *Dura* 4 no. 12.

turning point is conspicuous. The glaze on the lower part of the exterior is mottled red. Some examples have a groove on the exterior just below the lip. One fragment with this groove has rouletting on the floor. There is no evidence of a development of the form and the variations must be attributed to different hands.

The shape had a rather short life at Cosa. The three examples in Deposit A have thin glazes, an indication that they are probably among the latest pieces in the fill. Since the large group of pottery in Deposit D did not contain a single example of the form the piece in Deposit E must be an intrusion from an earlier period. The use of this form of bowl therefore was limited to the second and third quarters of the second century, perhaps only to the second. It was replaced by the bowls of Types I and II so common in Deposit D.⁴⁵

Type IV: *Rimless bowl with vertical wall.*



C 19c

(A 19, Pl. XXII; C 19c, Pl. XXX; and Pl. XLIV; D 12, Pl. XXXV)

This form is clear from the single example in Deposit C. It has a tapered lip, a high vertical wall and broad floor. The foot has an angular exterior, oblique interior. There is a groove on the exterior just below the lip.

The form is rare at Cosa. The evidence from Deposits A and C suggest that it was known there sometime in the first half of the second century. Since the three examples in Deposit A have a thin metallic glaze they are probably among the latest pieces in the fill. The three examples in Deposit D have a coarse buff clay and thin dull glaze. They may be poor examples of

⁴⁵ *Ceramica Campana* 177 form 28. Examples of a similar form: from the museum of Ensérune; *Ventimiglia* fig. 27 no. 17 from strato VI A, fig. 34 no. 9 from strato VI B. Strato VI B is dated (see *supra* note 4) 180-170-100-90 B.C.; strato VI A, 100-80-30-20 B.C. F. Mouret *CVA* France fasc. 6 pl. 22 no. 51; *Tarsus* no. 41 figs. 120, 179; *Antioch IV* 12 no. 43u pl. 2.

this form of Type IV. They seem to be hybrids between the bowl with vertical wall and the bowl with ribbon-band rim, another form of Type IV.⁴⁶

Type IV: *Rimless bowl with curved wall.*



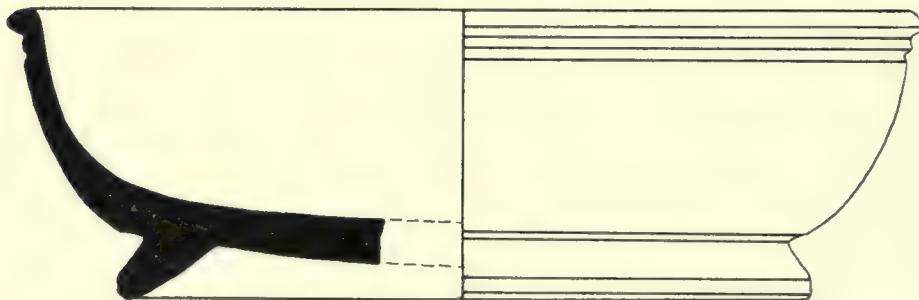
C 29c
(C 29c, Pl. XXXII)

There is only one example of this form. The identification is sure, however, because the bowl shows workmanship identical to that of one of the bowls with angular wall in the same deposit.

The bowl is almost hemispherical. The foot is small, curved on the exterior, and oblique on the interior. The central turning point is high.

Deposit C is dated 170-160—ca. 140 B.C.⁴⁷

Type IV: *Bowl with broad foot and curved wall.*



D 16c
(D 16c, Pl. XVI, Pl. XXXVI, Pl. XLIV; E 14d)

⁴⁶ Not in *Ceramica Campana*. Example, Type IV, in the Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese.

⁴⁷ *Ceramica Campana* 179 form 30.

Type IV copies Type II in this form. Since the shape is one of the latest and poorest of Type II, the real product is often indistinguishable from its Type IV copies. It is clear that Type IV has no shape peculiar to it and that copies are more common than the Type II product in the late second century and the first century.⁴⁸

Type IV: *Bowl with incurved rim.*



A 21c

(A 21a, Pl. II; A 21b, Pl. II, Pl. III, Pl. XXIII; A 21c, Pl. IV, Pl. XX, Pl. XXIII; Pl. XLIV; A 21d, Pl. IV, Pl. XXIV; A 21e, Pl. XXIV; A 25 (?) Pl. IV, Pl. XXII; A 26 (?), Pl. IV, Pl. XXII; B 42e, Pl. XXVIII; C 30; D 9e)

Most of the ritual bowls of the Capitolium Fill, approximately 120 of them, have the fabric of Type IV. The bowls with better glazes have thicker walls, fuller curving bodies, lower broader feet with rounded exteriors, oblique interiors. Those with poorer glazes have thinner, more angular walls, higher, straighter feet. In the catalogue of Deposit A these bowls have been subdivided, on the basis of shape of foot and quality of glaze, into five groups. These groups probably represent different hands rather than a chronological difference. Two groups, one of them very common, occur both with and without stamps. Most of the floor patterns are the common stamps: central rosettes or stars or four scattered rosettes or palmettes. One example has four ∪ stamps.

The fact that no whole bowls can be reconstructed from the many fragments in the Capitolium Fill suggests that the bowls were not thrown or placed on the sacred area immediately before the temple was constructed. Rather, in the levelling process preparatory to the construction of the temple, some of the pieces must have been carried away. On the other hand, since several of the fragments in the fill have relatively complicated forms and floor patterns, the simplicity of the form and stamp patterns of these bowls certainly suggests that the bowls were not the earliest pieces in the temple fill. The bowl of Type I,

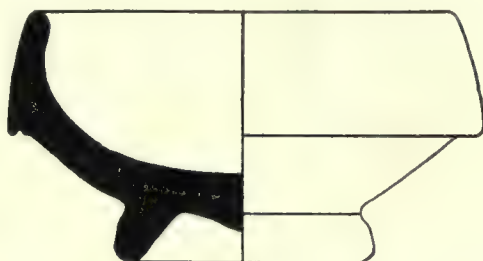
⁴⁸ *Ceramica Campana* 143 form 1.

which must be one of the latest pieces in the fill since Type I is rare at Cosa until a later period, is identical in form to **A 21**, the Type IV bowl.

Deposit A has been dated ca. 225—ca. 150 B.C. The ritual bowls, **A 21**, can probably be assigned to the first half of the second century. The form seems to have disappeared about the middle of the second century for Deposit D shows that bowls of comparable size have almost no inward curve at the rim.

The miniature bowls of Deposit A, **A 25** and **A 26**, must be remains of the same ritual practice. The identification of their fabric is not certain. The only other example of the same miniature form (in an unidentified fabric) was found in Deposit B, beneath the colonnade floor, that is, antedating ca. 167 B.C.⁴⁹

Type IV: *Bowl with broad ribbon-band rim.*



B 13

(**A 29**, Pl. XX, Pl. XXIV, Pl. XLIV; **A 30** (?), Pl. XXIV; **B 13**, Pl. VI, Pl. XXVII; **B 43a**, Pl. XXVIII, **C 9a**, Pl. VII; **D 11**, Pl. XV, Pl. XXXV; **E 10**)

This bowl occurs in two sizes, both small, and possibly a larger size. The body is curved; the foot is rounded on the exterior, oblique on the interior. The turning point is conspicuous. The examples with best glazes have a distinct groove at the bottom of the rim.

All three examples of the fabric of Type IV in Deposit B have glazes of poor quality. One example was found in the fill for the basilica above the colonnade floor. The other two of Type IV and a fourth in another fabric were found in the basilica fill in the northwest end of the nave, in the area adjacent to Section 16 (Deposit C). They are probably contemporary with the examples from the fill above the colonnade floor and from Section 16, that is, they are some of the pieces which were mixed with the fill for the basilica when it was constructed and the colonnade underneath it was destroyed. One example in the fill of the Capitolium is so much better in quality that it must antedate the examples in Deposits B and C by several years. If the pieces in these two latter deposits are contemporary, they are dated 170-160—ca. 140 B.C.

⁴⁹ *Ceramica Campana* 176 form 27 (see also 173 form 25). See **A 21** for bibliography for this form.

Since the good example in Deposit A is not, by any means, the earliest piece of pottery in the Capitolium Fill, it probably dates sometime earlier in the second century.

In addition to the two examples of a small bowl Deposit A has a fragment of the body of a large bowl with ribbon-band rim. The clay and glaze are poor in quality and the rim carelessly formed. The piece cannot be identified with certainty as Type IV. The form does not appear in later deposits except in Deposit D (**D 15**) which has a single fragment in an unidentified fabric. A simplified version of the ribbon-band occurs on **C 33**. A single example of a small bowl in Deposit D indicates that the form is rare in the late second century. It and the example in Deposit E show that the form did not change. The clay and glaze of the piece in Deposit E are poor in quality.

The bowl with ribbon-band rim must be the last in a tradition of bowls with wide curving rims. The small bowl with overhanging rim **A 27** and the large bowl **A 31a** and **b** with ribbon-band rim must be earlier examples in the same tradition.⁵⁰ The bowl **A 28**, which is similar in form to the examples of Type IV but much better in quality, would represent an intermediate stage. The form has practically disappeared by the first century.⁵¹

Type IV: *Bowl (or plate) with thickened lip.*



A 16

D 5dI

(**A 16**, Pl. XXII; **D 5dI**, Pl. XXXIV; **E 13**, Pl. XLII; **E 16**, Pl. XLII)

The tilt of the rim in the profile of **A 16** makes the piece appear to be part of a bowl, whereas the profile of **D 5dI** shows a form closer to a plate or saucer. They must represent the same tradition of form. The shallow bowl,

⁵⁰ See *Minturnae* type 46 pl. 5, pl. 1, for another bowl in the tradition. This example has an incised decoration on the rim similar to **A 27**, the Cosa bowl with overhanging rim. The rim of the Minturnae example, like that of **A 28**, forms part of the body of the bowl.

⁵¹ *Ceramica Campana* 195 form 51. Examples with similar form: D. Levi, "Le necropoli puniche di Olbia" *Studi Sardi* 9 (1949) pl. 15a, F. 29; from Falerii Veteres (Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia in Rome, nos. 927, 955, 2038, 3682, 50807), from Tuscania (Museo Archeologico in Florence, no. 75327, and the Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese), from Pitigliano (museum in Pitigliano).

A 17, in a fabric very similar to Type IV and the rims **E 13** and **E 16** must belong to the same family of shapes, a shallow form with thickened rim.

The piece in Deposit A has an encircling groove on the exterior of the bowl; the shallower example in Deposit D has a groove on the exterior just below the lip. The three examples in the later deposits, **D 5dI**, **E 13**, and **E 16** have shallower bowls and more rounded lips than the two examples in Deposit A. These differences may indicate the development of the form. The bowl with thickened lip is relatively rare at Cosa but it seems to have been in use over a long period of time.⁵²

Type IV: *Pyxis*.



D 19c
(**D 19c**, Pl. XXXVII; **E 17bI**,
Pl. XLII; **E 17bII**)

The example **D 19c** has a form reminiscent of the high footed pyxides of the fifth century, a flat base with a horizontal projection near the bottom. The form of the upper part is not known. The finish of the piece is poor. The glaze is applied in blotches on the bottom. One example in Deposit **E** has a base that is almost flat. This piece shows workmanship identical to that on the plates (or bowls) with thickened rim, **E 13** and **E 16**. A few other pyxides of Type IV in Deposit E copy the form of Type II. The pyxis in Type IV, which does not appear until the last part of the second century, is never common.⁵³ The Type II product must have supplied the market.

Type IV: *Rimless cup with handle*.

A 36, Pl. XXV

This cup, represented by two examples, shows poor workmanship. It has conspicuous tool and brush marks and a thin flaky black glaze. The handle takes off at the lip and curves downward. The foot is small, with oblique exterior and interior. The shape of the base and finish of clay of one example are identical to the small bowls of **A 21c**. The cup, like the bowls, must have been produced sometime in the first half of the second century.⁵⁴

⁵² Not given in *Ceramica Campana*.

⁵³ Not given in *Ceramica Campana*.

⁵⁴ Not given in *Ceramica Campana*; cf. the form of these examples: *Holwerda* nos. 181-182 fig. 3 pl. 2, from Volterra.

Type IV: *Large jar*.**B 47**, Pl. VII; Pl. XXIX

The fragment in Deposit B is unique in form. The mouth flares in a wide rim which is divided into three parts by encircling grooves. The remainder of the form has not been identified.

The closing date for Deposit B is ca. 140 B.C. The only certain *terminus post quem* for the deposit is 273 B.C., the date Cosa was founded. Most of the pieces in the deposit seem to be products of the middle of the second century. Since none of the examples of Type IV in Deposit A, which also has a *terminus post quem* of 273 B.C., seem to be among the earliest pieces in the group, Type IV production probably did not begin before the second century. The unusual jar in Deposit B, a form not repeated in any later deposit, may be an early product of Type IV.⁵⁵

Type IV: *Pitcher (or cup with handle)*.**D 20**, Pl. XXXVII; **D 21c**, Pl. XXXVII

Since the interior of the fragment **D 20** has glaze at the top only, it is probably part of a pitcher rather than a cup. Fragments in different fabrics but somewhat similar in form, **C 38** and **E 18b**, must be parts of a pitcher. They seem too deep for a cup. The exteriors of both these pieces are unglazed and their interiors have only a band of glaze at the top.

The example **D 20** is rimless. A heavy handle, elliptical in cross section, takes off just below the lip. The foot of the form is not known.

The other three examples in Deposit D duplicate the form of Type II.⁵⁶

Type IV: *Large pitcher*.**B 51**, Pl. XXIX

This form is very fragmentary. Rim, neck, handle, and part of the spout are missing. The finish of the clay and glaze is poor. The foot is low and broad with broad resting surface. The large oblique spout flares at the end. The full form must have been similar to that of one of the strainer-pitchers of **D 22b**.

Every household at Cosa must have had large pitchers but glazed examples are uncommon. The one in Deposit B and the two in Deposit D all have coarse strainers at the base of the neck. This type of pitcher must have had

⁵⁵ Not given in *Ceramica Campana*.

⁵⁶ **D 20**: not given in *Ceramica Campana*; **D 21c**: 149 form 10.

some special use. The application of glaze on the exterior is so careless that it must have been for utilitarian rather than for decorative purposes.⁵⁷

Other Types:

A 3, Pl. XXI; **A 20**, Pl. XXII

The clay is hard buff; the glaze a thin brown-black. Each form, represented by a single piece, is fragmentary. The forms are peculiar to this fabric.

C 35, Pl. X; **D 9d**, Pl. XXXV; **D 21d**

The clay is hard buff, the glaze firm green-black or blue-black with high sheen. All three of these forms are unusual. The cylix in Deposit C has handle and foot with peculiar forms (see Pl. X). The rimless bowl of Deposit D is shallow; its lip is more tapered than that of other forms. The small thin handle of **D 21d** has three ridges on the upper surface in imitation of a tripartite division.

D 1e; **D 8e**, Pl. XXXV; **D 29b**

The clay is buff or grey-buff, fine and hard. The glaze is firm black or blue-black with high sheen. Few pieces with clay and glaze of this quality have been found at Cosa. The forms represented in the fabric are the plate with horizontal offset rim (fragments of two), the bowl with outturned rim, and a guttus (?) with ribbon handle.

D 61; **D 17c**, Pl. XXXVII; **E 2b**, Pl. XLI; **E 14c**, **E 17c**

The clay is pink-buff or buff, hard and coarse. The glaze is black or green-black and metallic. All the forms in this fabric, the small plate on a high foot, the bowl with broad foot and curved wall, the cup with broad foot and flaring wall, the pyxis and bases, duplicate those of Type II but show poorer workmanship.

C 26h; **D 1dII**, Pl. XII; Pl. XXXIII; **D 8f**, Pl. XXXV

The clay is creamy white and soft like lamp clay. The glaze is a dull black. These pieces may be underfired examples of Type IV. All three forms, the plate with profiled rim, the bowl with outturned rim, and the angular foot were produced in the fabric of Type IV.

⁵⁷ Not given in *Ceramica Campana*.

CONCLUSIONS: CERAMIC INDUSTRY AND TRADE

The black-glaze pottery, the tableware of the colonists of Cosa in the third and second centuries and part of the first, gives information on the industrial life of the colony and its activity in trade. Cosa, a Latin colony founded in 273 B.C., commanded the coastline by Etruscan Vulci and offered a harbor for sea traffic to Gaul and Spain by way of the islands Corsica and Sardinia. The colony, however, was more than a port town, for many of its colonists cultivated the rich grain fields in the territory attached to it.⁵⁸ There is no reason to believe that Cosa differed in its role from a great number of other Latin colonies. Its economic life and commercial activity, therefore, must reflect the vicissitudes of Rome, Italy and the Western Mediterranean.

The five deposits of pottery give a picture of the pottery from ca. 225 B.C. to 40-30 B.C. Ceramic evidence for the first fifty years of the colony, that is, from 273 B.C., must come from future excavations. The earliest of these five deposits is dated 225-150 B.C. or thereabouts. The pottery of this period, however, can be subdivided into three groups. The oldest, which does not appear in later deposits, consists of a great variety of forms from a number of workshops. Some of the fragments represent the last stages of fourth and third century forms, e.g., fish plates and cantharoi, and decorative devices such as ribbing and paint superposed on the glaze. Most of the parallels for these pieces seem to come from sites in southern Etruria and Latium. The great number of workshops represented and the small number of pieces from any one shop argue against a mass importation from the south and suggest that this group was brought to the colony by chance visitors or new colonists. It may have been in the household equipment of the new colonists who came in 197 B.C. (Livy, 33. 24. 8-9).

The second group consists of local pottery, a very poor product. By far the most common shape of this group, which contains simple forms of bowls and cups used in a ritual ceremony, is the small bowl with incurved rim, with or without floor stamp. These bowls are comparable in angularity and proportions to late third and early second century bowls found in many parts of the Mediterranean area. The third group, which is a small one, can be identified and described by the evidence of later deposits and will be discussed in connection with them.

Two of the five deposits show the black-glaze pottery in use in the middle of the second century, from ca. 165 B.C.-140 B.C. A large part of these deposits is poor in quality, degenerate copies of simple bowls and cups in use in Etruria and Latium in the third century. The quantity of local pottery and the scarcity of imported wares indicate that Cosa was living on its own resources in the middle of the second century. This is the period in which the colony turned

⁵⁸ F. E. Brown, *op. cit.* (*supra* 70, note 1) 113.

its attention to its own civic life and beautified its center. The great Capitolium and, a few years later, the basilica on the forum, bear witness to local prosperity.

A fourth deposit shows that by the last quarter of the second century pottery imported to Cosa virtually monopolized the market. This imported pottery can be ascribed to three shops. The three types, each of which is characterized by a peculiar fabric and repertory of forms, have been identified and classified by Lamboglia on the basis of excavations in Liguria, at Ventimiglia, the ancient Albintimilium. In 1950, Lamboglia published a preliminary classification of the three types; in 1953 Almagro, on the basis of the excavations in Spain, at Ampurias, the ancient Emporium, supplemented the classification and gave new evidence for dating. Excavations in and near Syracuse, near Marseilles (especially the boat which has been found in the sea near it), and at Cosa, have confirmed Lamboglia's classification and corrected it in many details. It is still too early, however, for a classification of the black-glaze pottery of the Western Mediterranean area. At the present time, the greatest handicap is the dearth of preserved and datable material from excavations in Italy. The pottery which has been discovered at Cosa shows clearly that Lamboglia's classification needs additions and modifications.

Two of the three types of black-glaze pottery imported in quantity by the last quarter of the second century had appeared at Cosa before the middle of this century. They occurred in small quantity in the earliest deposit and in somewhat greater proportion in the two deposits of the middle of the second century. Type I, which has a red or orange clay and metallic black glaze, is identical in fabric with pottery which has been discovered on the island of Malta, in Sicily at Syracuse and Tindari, on Ischia, on the mainland of Italy at Paestum, Rome, Tarquinia, Populonia, Castiglioncello, Volterra, Vado Ligure, and Ventimiglia, in southern France at Saint-Rémy, Entremont, Ensérune, and l'Aute, an island near Narbonne,⁵⁹ in Spain at Ampurias, Tarragona (museum), Azaila and Madrid (museum). Some of the pottery recently recovered from the sea at Albenga, north of Genoa, came from the workshop of Type I. A cargo of products of the shop has been found in the boat excavated from the sea near Marseilles. The location of this shop is not known but all the evidence suggests a site in Campania. The earliest forms of the type appear in the ware produced in Campania in the third century. The deposit from Minturnae contains local versions of some of these forms. Moreover, the distribution of the finds and the cargoes of the two boats indicate a location on or near the sea. The earliest forms produced by the shop have been found at Paestum, Ensérune and Ampurias and in the boat near Marseilles.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ *RS Lig* 21 (1955) 216.

⁶⁰ Pottery of the shop may have come to Cosa in the traffic by sea which Diodorus (5.13) mentions. In a description of iron and the mines on the Island of Elba he describes merchant routes from Populonia to Puteoli thus: "Merchants buy these [the pieces of smelted iron] with money or an exchange of goods and carry them to Dicaearchaea [Puteoli] and other ports." It

Pottery of Type I is distinctly inferior to another type which was contemporary with it but imported in greater quantity before the middle of the second century. This second type, which has a buff clay and firm black or blue-black glaze, is identical in fabric with pottery found at Syracuse (museum), on the mainland of Italy at Rome, near Civitacastellana, at Talamone, Castiglione-cello, Volterra, Vado Ligure, Ventimiglia and Alba (museum), in France at Gergovie, and Ensérune, in Spain at Ampurias, Tarragona (museum), San Miguel de Sorba, Azaila, Archena, and Galera. The boat found near Marseilles contained a few pieces of this type. The type is similar to, but not identical with, the black-glaze pottery of Arezzo. Cosa gives new evidence for this type: that it was imported to Cosa and Ventimiglia at the same time and before it reached other towns on the coast, e.g., Ensérune in France, Ampurias in Spain; that it was copied locally in great quantity. In the last quarter of the second century and throughout the first, all local potters follow the forms of Type II. The shop which produced the black glaze pottery of this type was, without doubt, located in Etruria.⁶¹ The proveniences of bucchero and impasto prototypes of some of the forms give support to the attribution.

By the middle of the second century, perhaps earlier, a third type of black glaze pottery was being imported to Cosa. This type is found in the last quarter of the second century and continues in use in the first century but it never achieves the popularity of Types I and II. The type, which has a grey clay and dull black glaze, has been found on the island of Malta, in Sicily at Syracuse and Tindari (in great quantity at both sites), on the mainland of Italy at Albenga, Vado Ligure,⁶² and Ventimiglia, in France (museum of Cavailon), and in Spain (Museo Arqueológico of Barcelona). The predominance of the type in recent excavations at Syracuse and Tindari suggests that the workshop was in eastern Sicily; however, no examples of the type have been found in the excavations at Megara Hyblaea, which is in the eastern part of the island.

The three workshops which sent quantities of black-glaze pottery to Cosa in the late second century were beginning to export their wares in the first half of the century. The pottery of Cosa seems to show that the colony began to import in the last part of the first half of the second century. In the middle of the century the imports are still on a limited scale; by the last quarter of it mass importation controls the local market. This new activity in trade coincides with the development of extensive use of slave labor, the condition which Cato describes in his *De Agricultura*, peace on the seas and stabilization of Roman coinage. The foundation of colonies, especially maritime establish-

has been estimated that the slag heaps at Populonia (from smelting rather than forges) began to accumulate about 200 B.C.; see A. Minto, *Populonia* (Florence 1922) 9; Tenney Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome I: Rome and Italy of the Republic* (Baltimore 1933) 289. Cosa, in easy access to Populonia by land or sea, could have received its pottery from this traffic.

⁶¹ Several forms of this type have been identified as Etruscan by Beazley (*EVP*). For individual forms consult the bibliographies in the catalogues and the footnotes in the description of Type II in the Conclusions.

⁶² *RS Lig* 21 (1955) 274.

ments, and an improved system of roads, would have encouraged commerce. Low port-dues for Italian harbors would have been favorable to trade. The activities of the consuls of 179 B.C. (Livy 40. 51) in increasing harbor facilities for Italy reflect new interest in commerce.

The deposit of pottery of the first century shows that the three imported types continue on the market but all, especially Types I and III, degenerate in quality and local production becomes more active. The poor quality of the imports and the large proportion of poor local pottery reflect the impoverishment of all Italy. The fighting of the Social and Civil Wars exhausted the resources of everyone. In the first part of the first century, moreover, piracy, which had been troublesome in the early years of the second century, was again a factor in trade by sea. Pirates, who were active in many areas of the Mediterranean, threatened and attacked the coasts of Italy.⁶³ In 75 B.C. the consul Cotta announced that enemies were everywhere along the shores of Italy (Sallust *Hist.* 2. 47. 7). They were especially troublesome to the people near Brundisium and on the coasts of Etruria and Campania (Appian *Mithr.* 93; Florus 3. 6). A few years later trade had stopped and famine was threatening Rome (Livy *Ep.* 99; Plutarch *Pomp.* 27; Dio Cass. 36. 31). The distribution of Pompey's forces in 67 B.C. (Appian *Mithr.* 95; Florus 3. 6) indicates the size of the threatened area as well as the thoroughness of his campaign.⁶⁴

The workshops of black-glaze pottery which were sending their wares abroad in the Western Mediterranean in the second and first centuries did not, as far as I have been able to determine, export to the Eastern Mediterranean. Delos, the trading center, should indicate such traffic in pottery, if it existed. It is not surprising that the sites for which pottery of the Hellenistic period has been published, e.g., Athens and Antioch and Tarsus, do not show evidence of importation from the west during the second century. Athens was producing its own pottery; Antioch and Tarsus imported from Athens and other centers of the Eastern Mediterranean and produced pottery locally. Antioch and Tarsus, moreover, were somewhat remote from traffic from the Western Mediterranean. In the first century economic conditions in the west and piracy on the Mediterranean would have discouraged commercial relations. It is worth noting, however, that the forms of black-glaze pottery in use at Cosa ca. 225 to 40-30 B.C. parallel forms in the eastern Mediterranean area. Few forms are peculiar to the West. Almost all the forms of Types I and III illustrate the tradition of Athenian black glaze. Type IV, for the most part, represents degenerate versions of these forms or copies of the forms of Type II. The forms of Type II, however, are the most independent of the four major fabrics found at Cosa and in the Western Mediterranean in the second and first centuries. They show the influence of Athenian black glaze and the persistence of Etruscan tradition. The forms of Type II bear some resemblance to those of the so-called "Hellen-

⁶³ H. A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World* (London 1924) 231 ff.

⁶⁴ H. A. Ormerod, "The Distribution of Pompey's Forces in the Campaign of 67 B.C." *AAA* 10 (1923) 46-51.

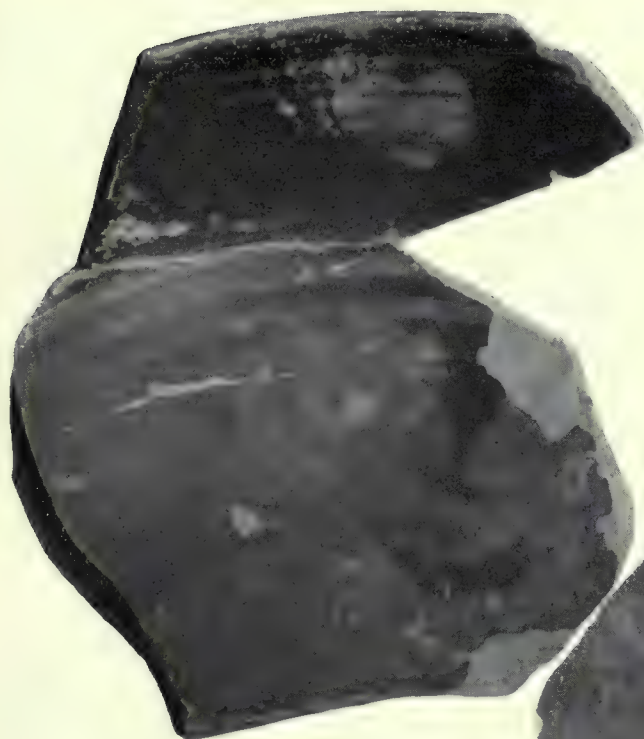
istic-Pergamene." At least one of its forms paralleled in "Hellenistic-Pergamene", the plate with horizontal offset rim, has an Etruscan prototype. A comparison of the black-glaze pottery of Cosa with the pottery of the eastern Mediterranean area reveals a similar introduction of new forms and fabrics in the first half of the second century. In the Western Mediterranean the tradition of black-glaze pottery continues until the arrival of Arretine ware.

In conclusion, the black-glaze pottery of Cosa shows that the colonists of the late third century and the first half of the second were familiar with the pottery in use in southern Etruria and Latium and copied some of these forms. There is no proof, however, that Cosa carried on extensive trade in pottery with central Italy during this period. (The colony's plea for reinforcements in 199 B.C. (Livy 32. 2.7) attests to its poverty at the turn of the century.) Sometime in the first half of the second century trade in the western Mediterranean area began to expand. The establishment of colonies, especially those on or near the sea, the expansion of the road system, the stabilization of Roman coinage, new harbor facilities, and small port-dues for Italian harbors must have promoted trade in this period. The pottery imported to Cosa reflects this new activity in commerce. At the middle of the second century, however, the colony still depended, for the most part, on local products. In the last part of the second century Cosa shares in the activity in trade in the western Mediterranean area. In the first century, when Italy suffers from the economic catastrophes of the Social and Civil Wars and the effects of piracy, the colony's imports in pottery and its own copies of them degenerate in quality.

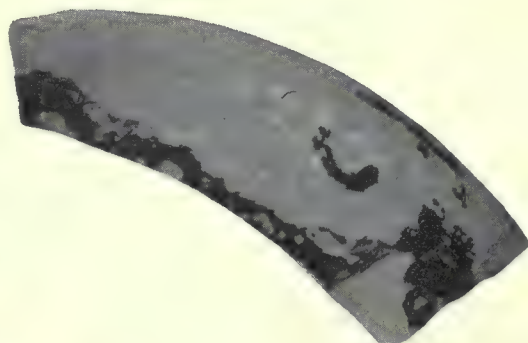
PLATES I-XLIV

COSA: BLACK-GLAZE POTTERY

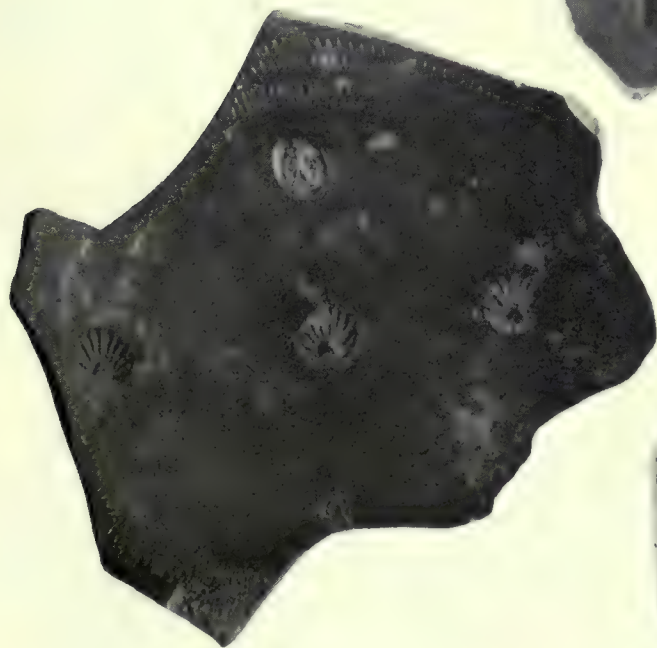
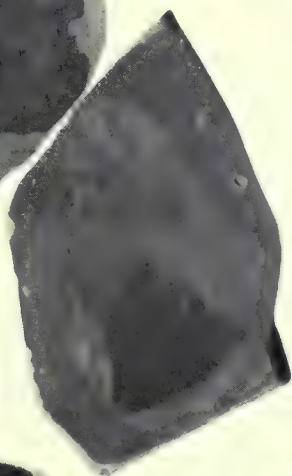
PLATE I



A 1



A 4

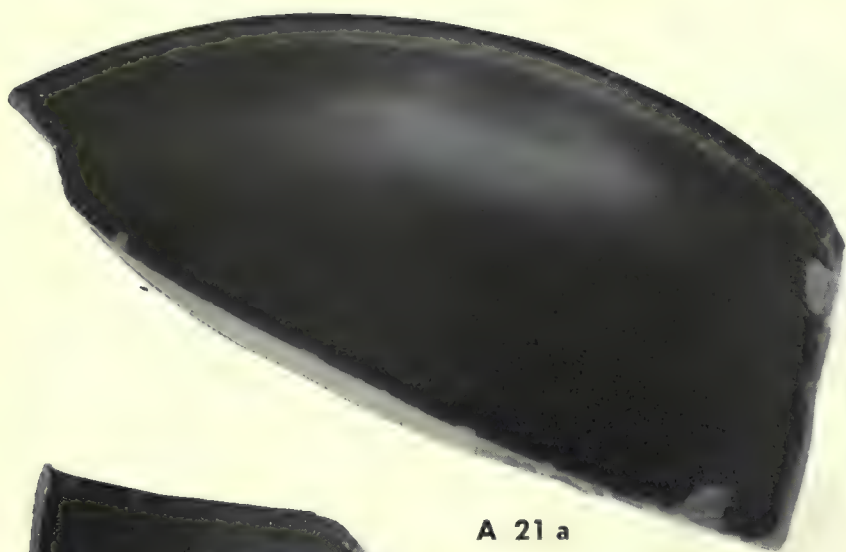


A 9



A 10

PLATE II



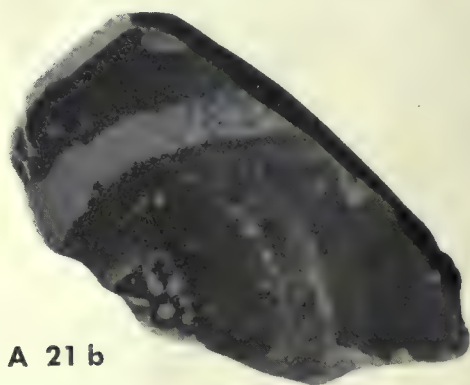
A 21 a



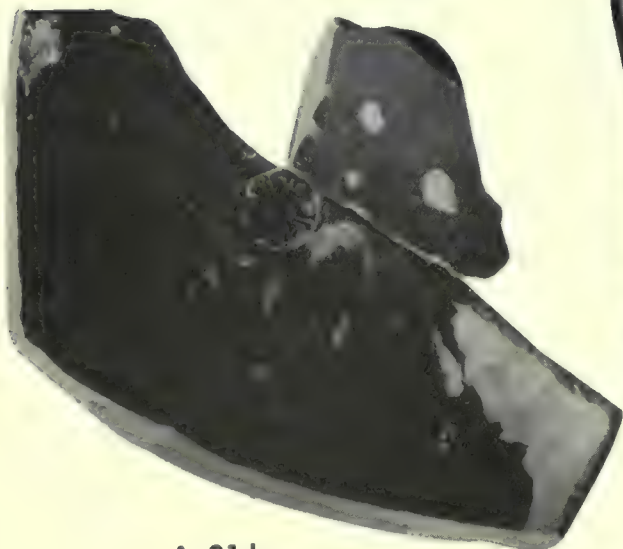
A 21 b



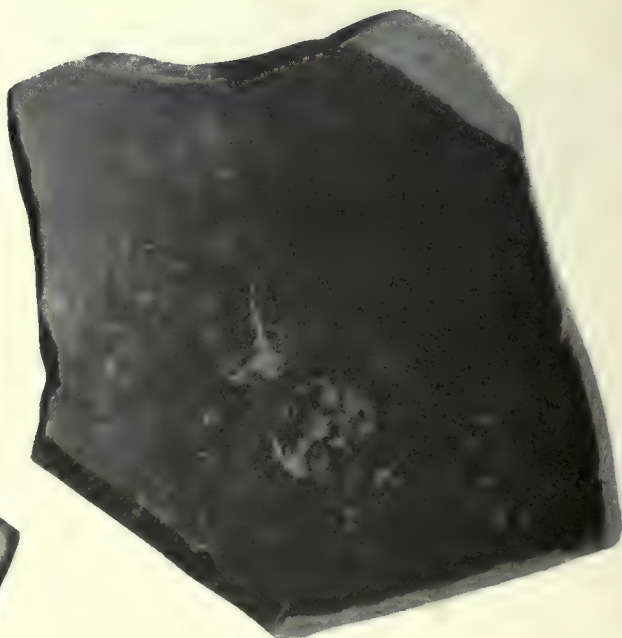
A 21 b



A 21 b



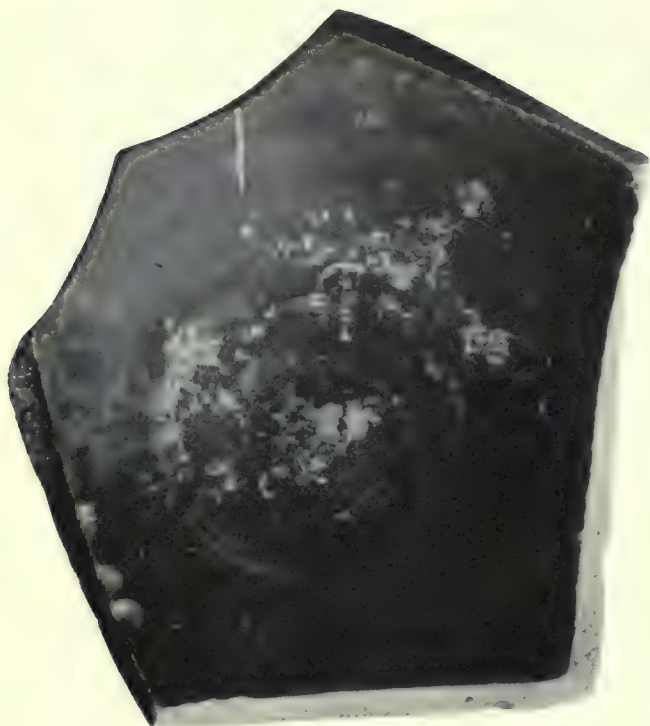
A 21 b



A 21 b



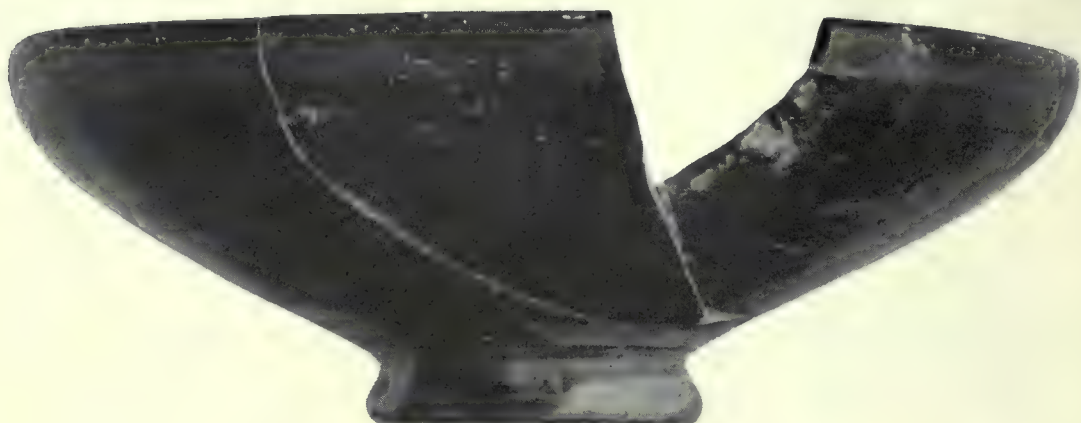
PLATE IV



A 21 c



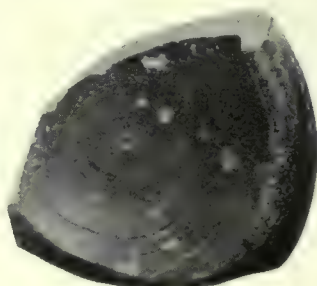
A 21 c



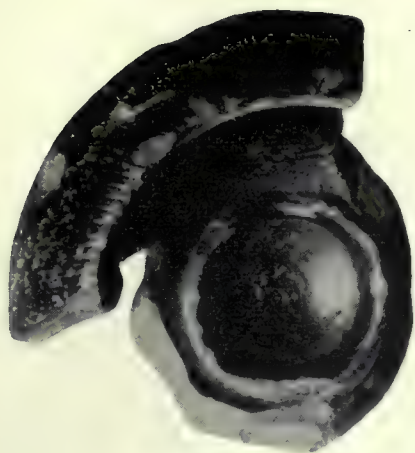
A 21 d



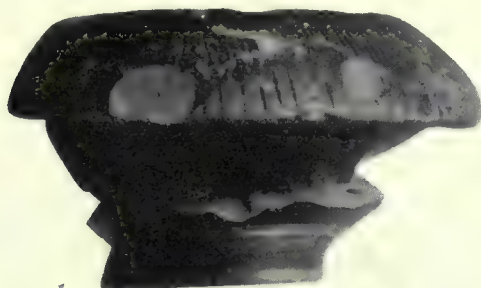
A 25



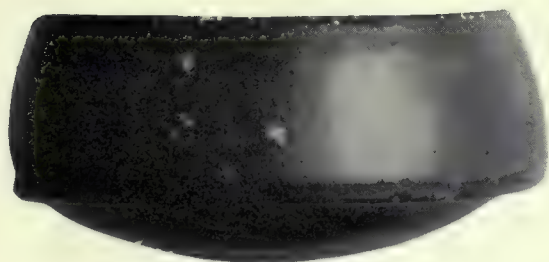
A 26



A 27



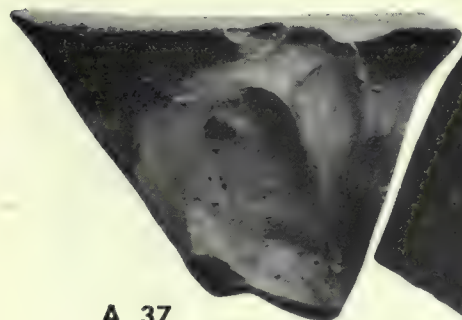
A 27



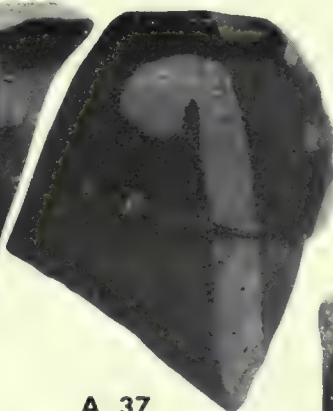
A 28



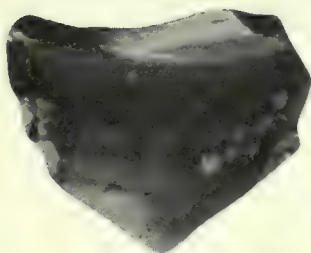
A 31 a



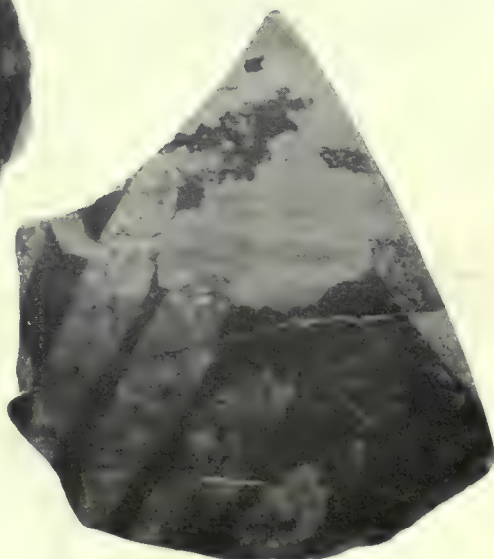
A 37



A 37

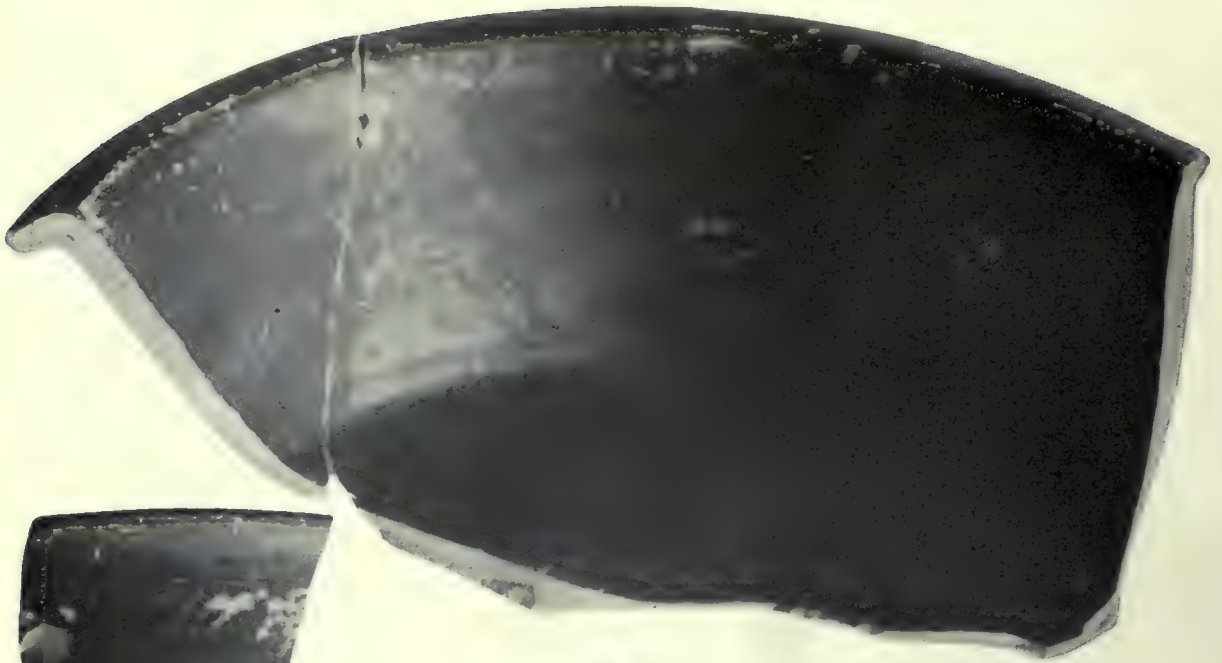


A 38

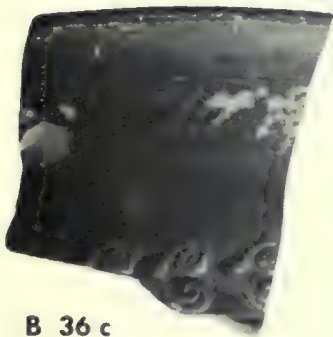


A 37

PLATE VIII



B 36 a



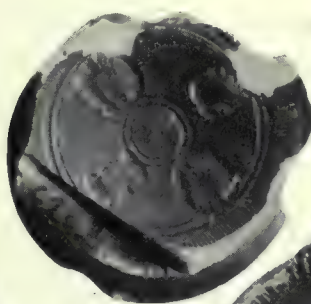
B 36 c



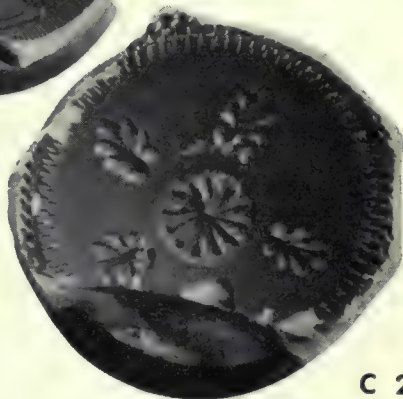
B 40



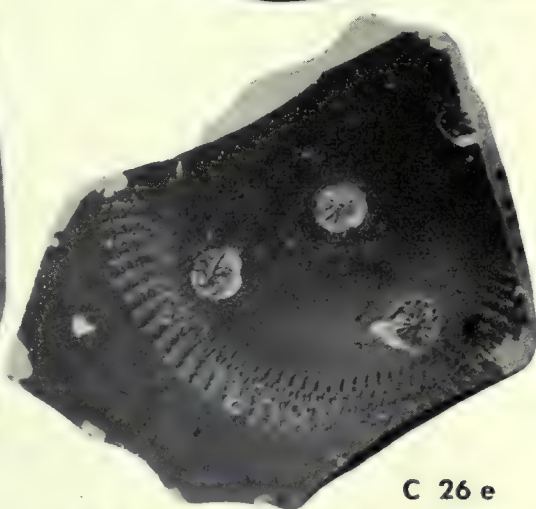
C 20



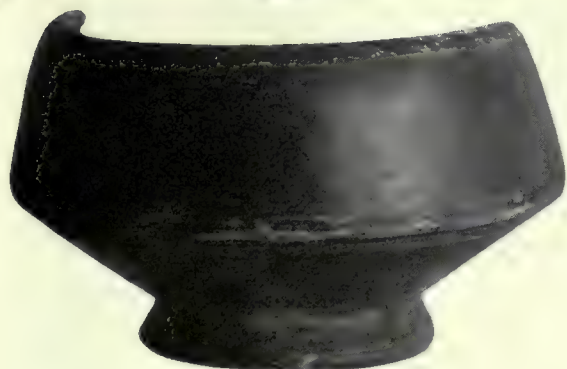
C 26 b



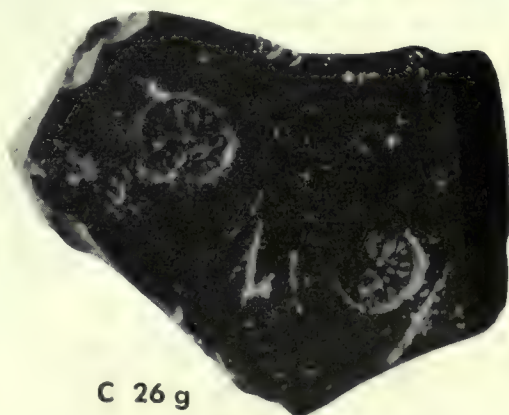
C 26 d



C 26 e

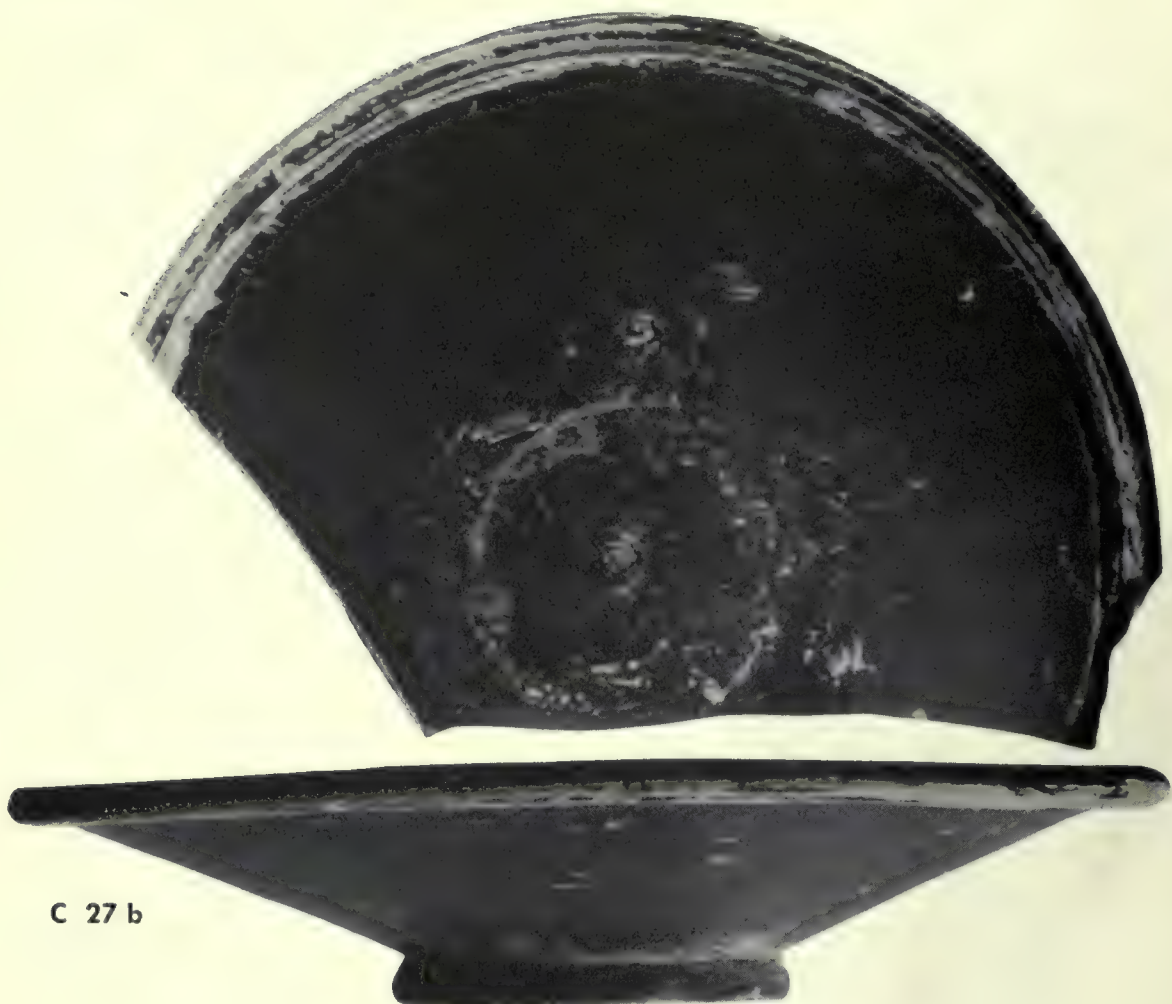


C 31



C 26 g

PLATE X



C 27 b



C 35



C 40



C 29 b

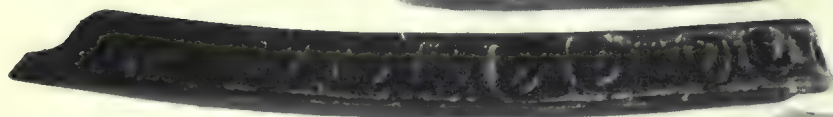


C 28 b

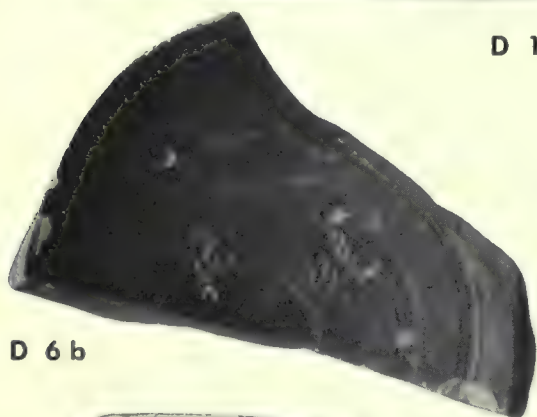
PLATE XII



C 29 b



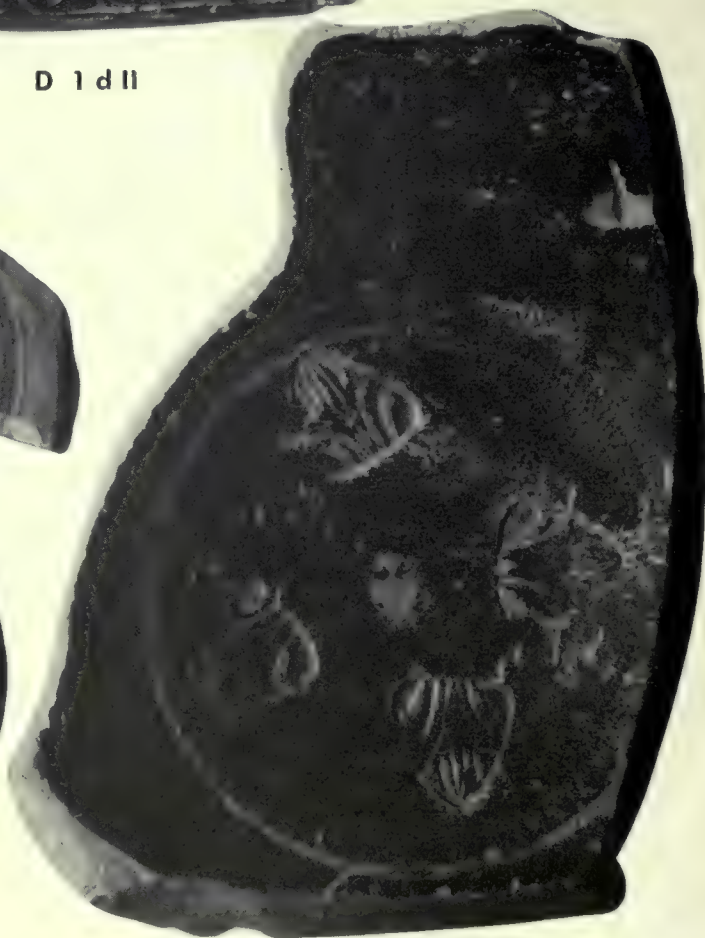
D 1 d II



D 6 b



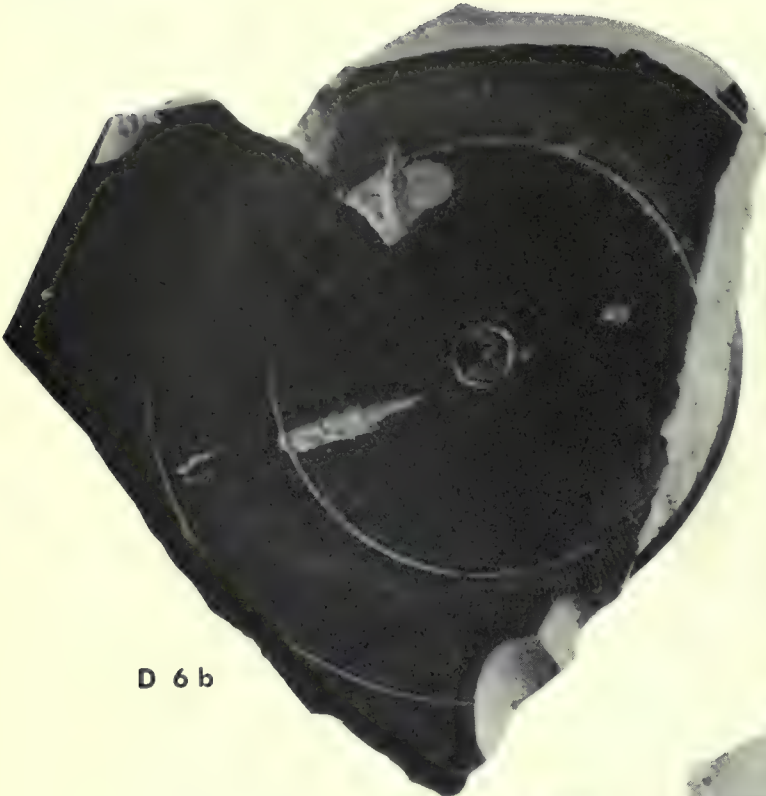
D 6 b



D 6 a



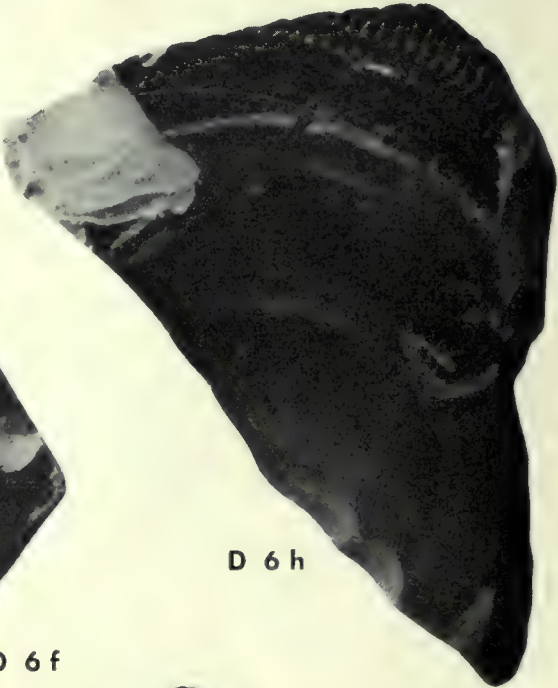
PLATE XIV



D 6 b



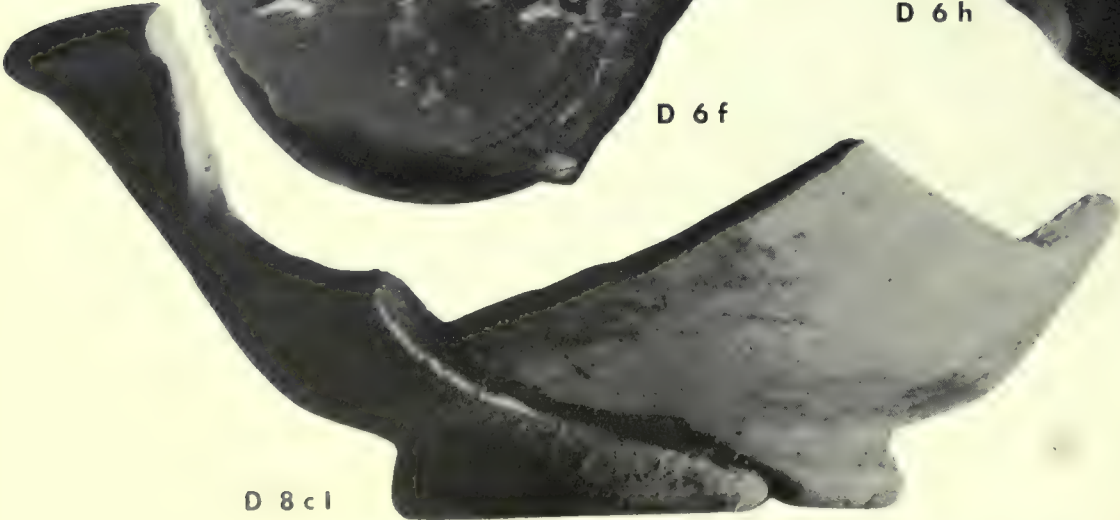
D 6 e



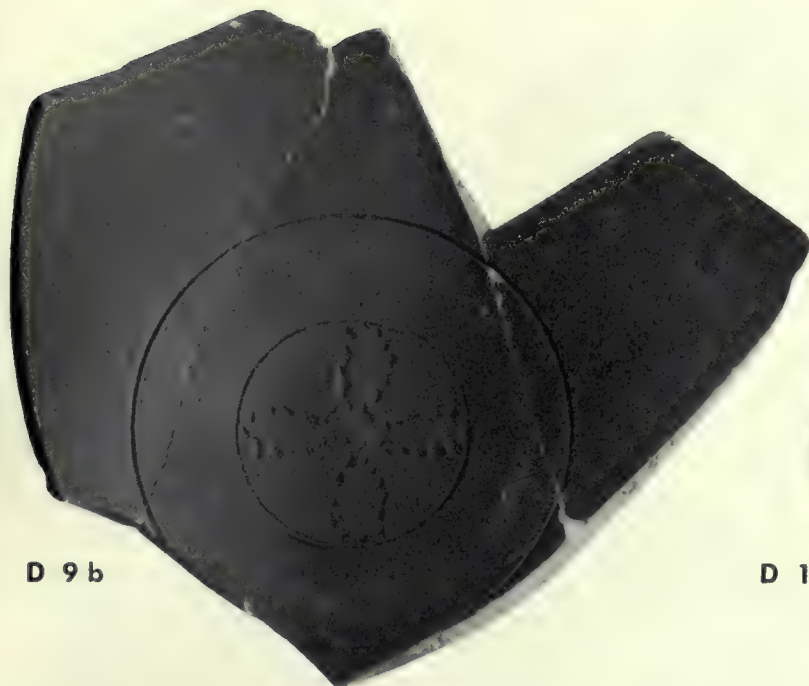
D 6 h



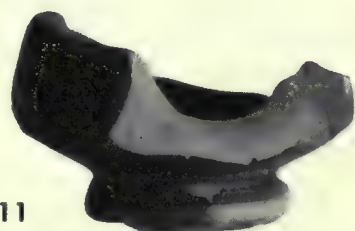
D 6 f



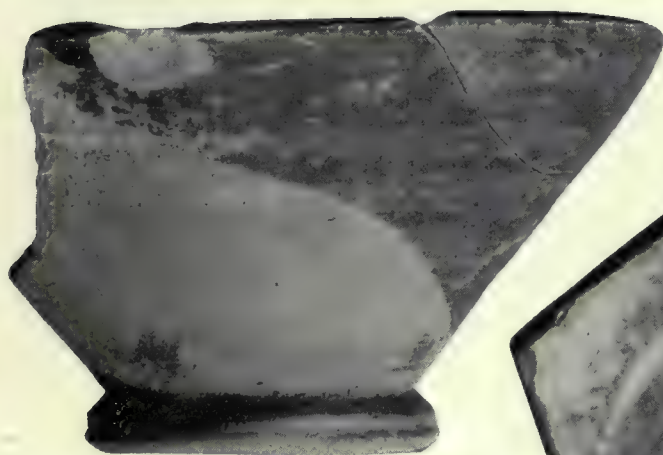
D 8 c l



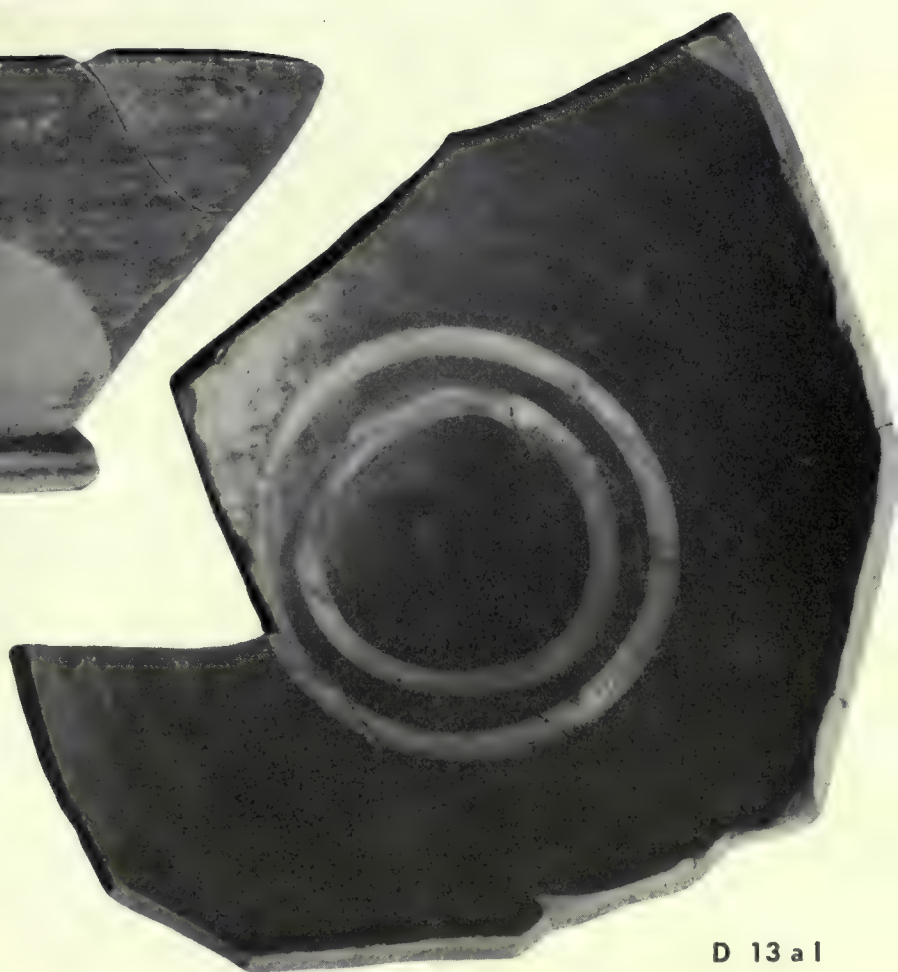
D 9 b



D 11



D 13 d

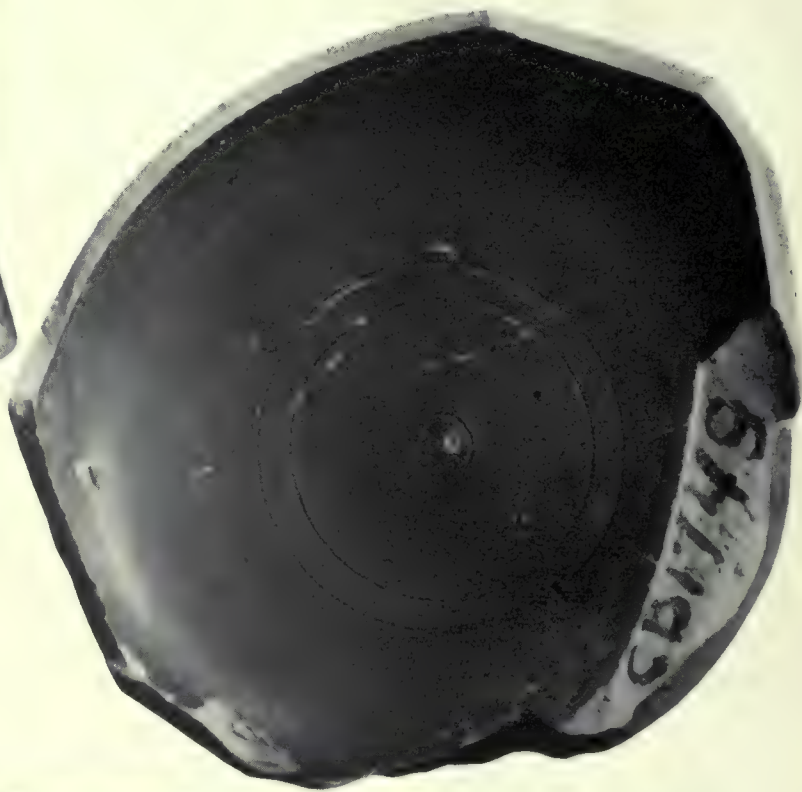


D 13 a l

PLATE XVI



D 16 a



D 16 c



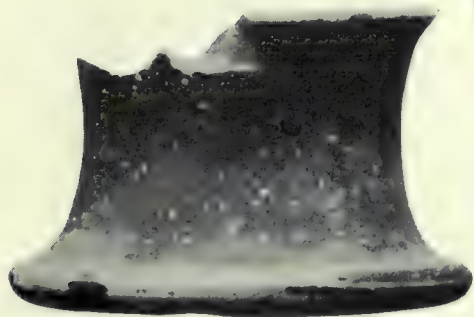
D 17 a



D 19 a



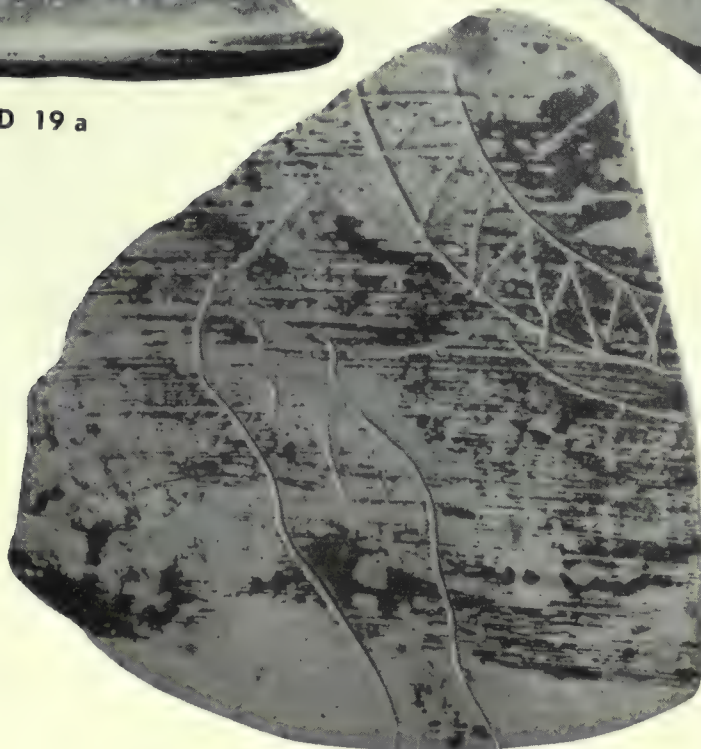
D 19 a



D 19 a



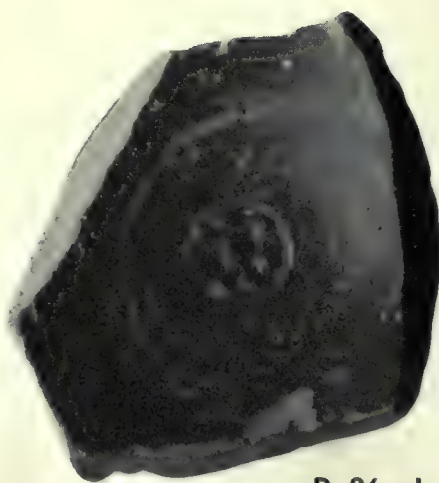
D 23



D 24



D 26 a I



D 26 a I



D 26 a II



D 26 b I



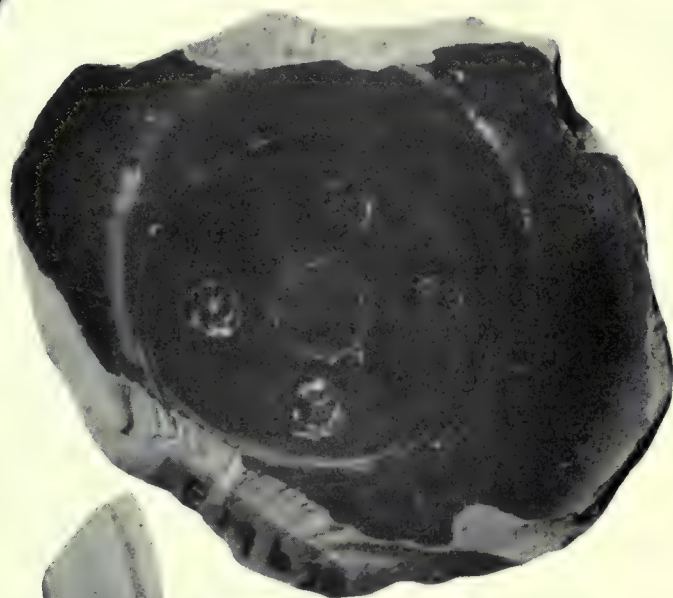
D 26 b II



E 5 b I



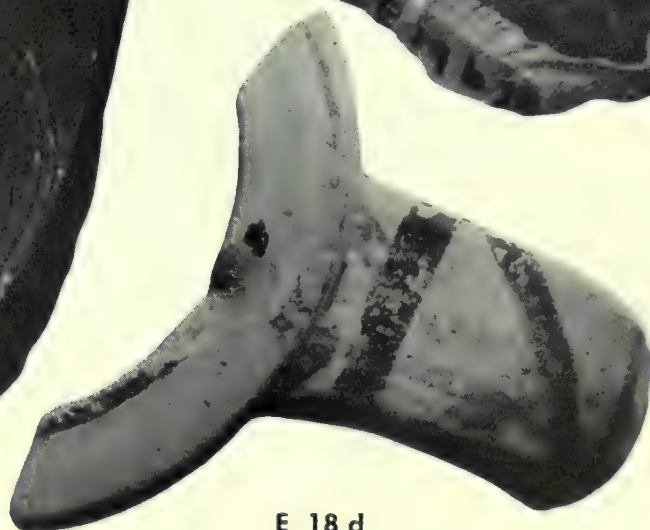
E 6 b



E 19 b II

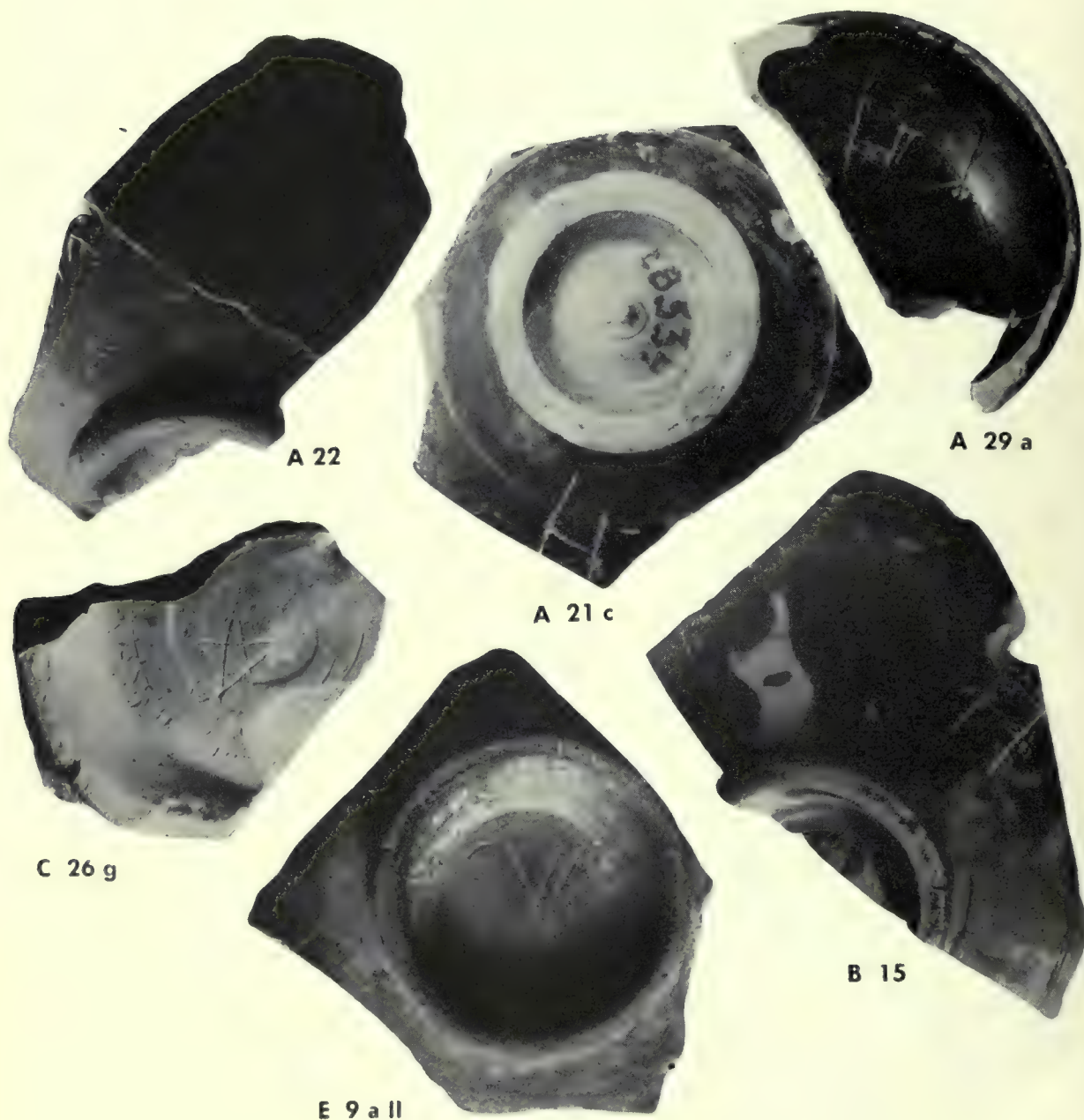


E 19 b I



E 18 d

PLATE XX





A 1



A 2



A 3



A 4



A 5



A 6



A 7



A 8

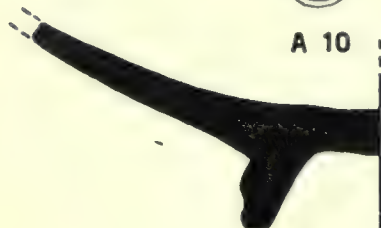


A 9

PLATE XXII



A 10



A 10



A 11



A 13



A 14



A 15



A 16



A 17



A 18



A 19



A 20



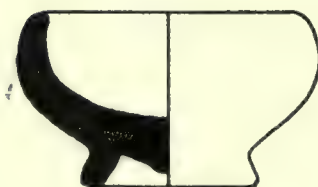
A 22



A 24



A 25



A 26



A 27

COSA: BLACK GLAZE POTTERY

PLATE XXIII



A 21 b



A 21 b



A 21 b



A 21 b



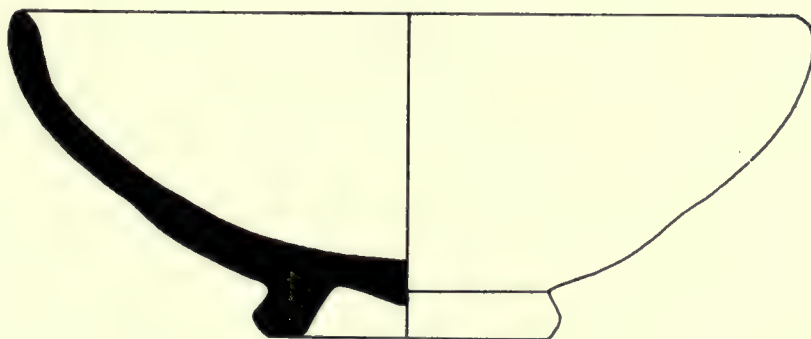
A 21 b



A 21 b



A 21 b



A 21 b



A 21 b

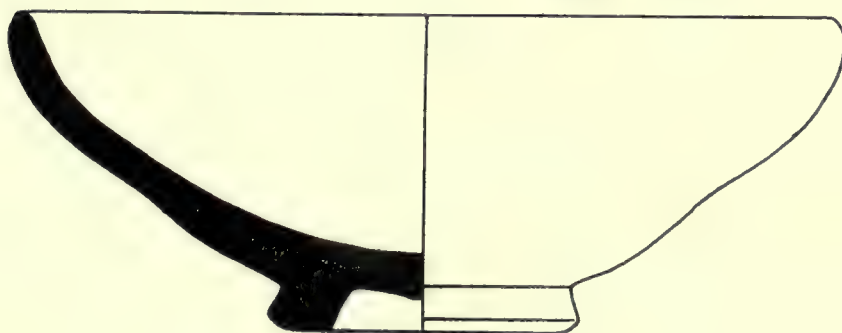


A 21 a

A 21 c

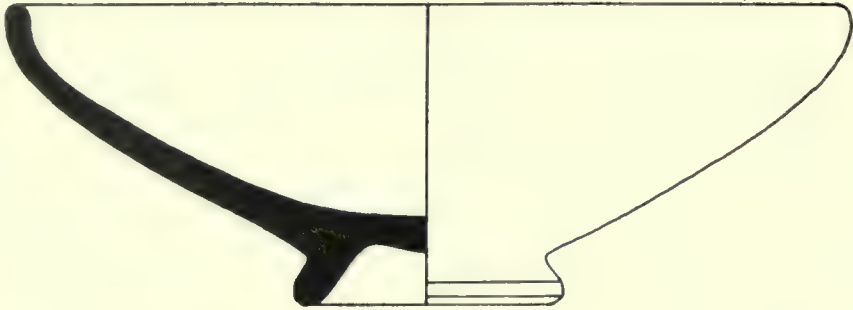


A 21 c

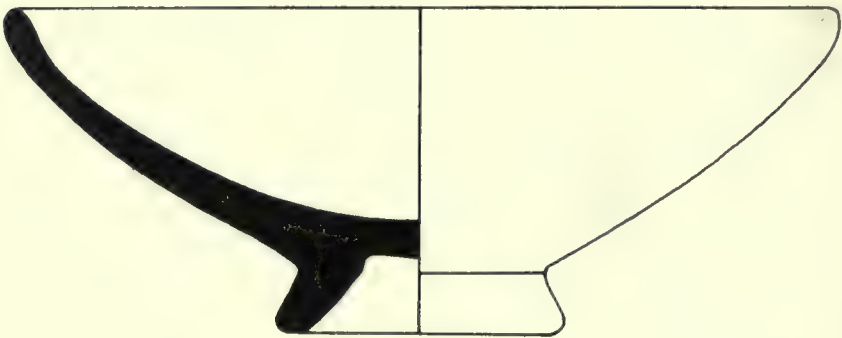


A 21 c

PLATE XXIV



A 21 d



A 21 e



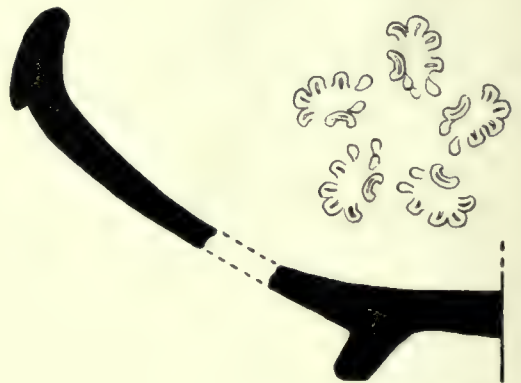
A 28



A 29 a



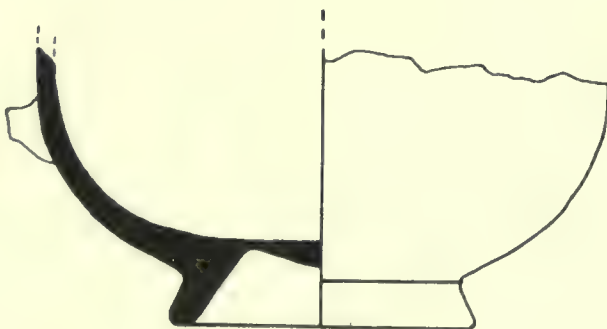
A 30



A 31 a



A 32



A 32



A 33

COSA: BLACK-GLAZE POTTERY

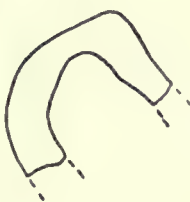
PLATE XXV



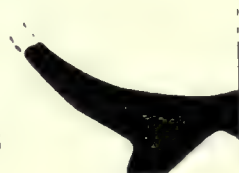
A 34



A 35



A 36



A 37



A 38



A 39



A 40



A 41



A 42

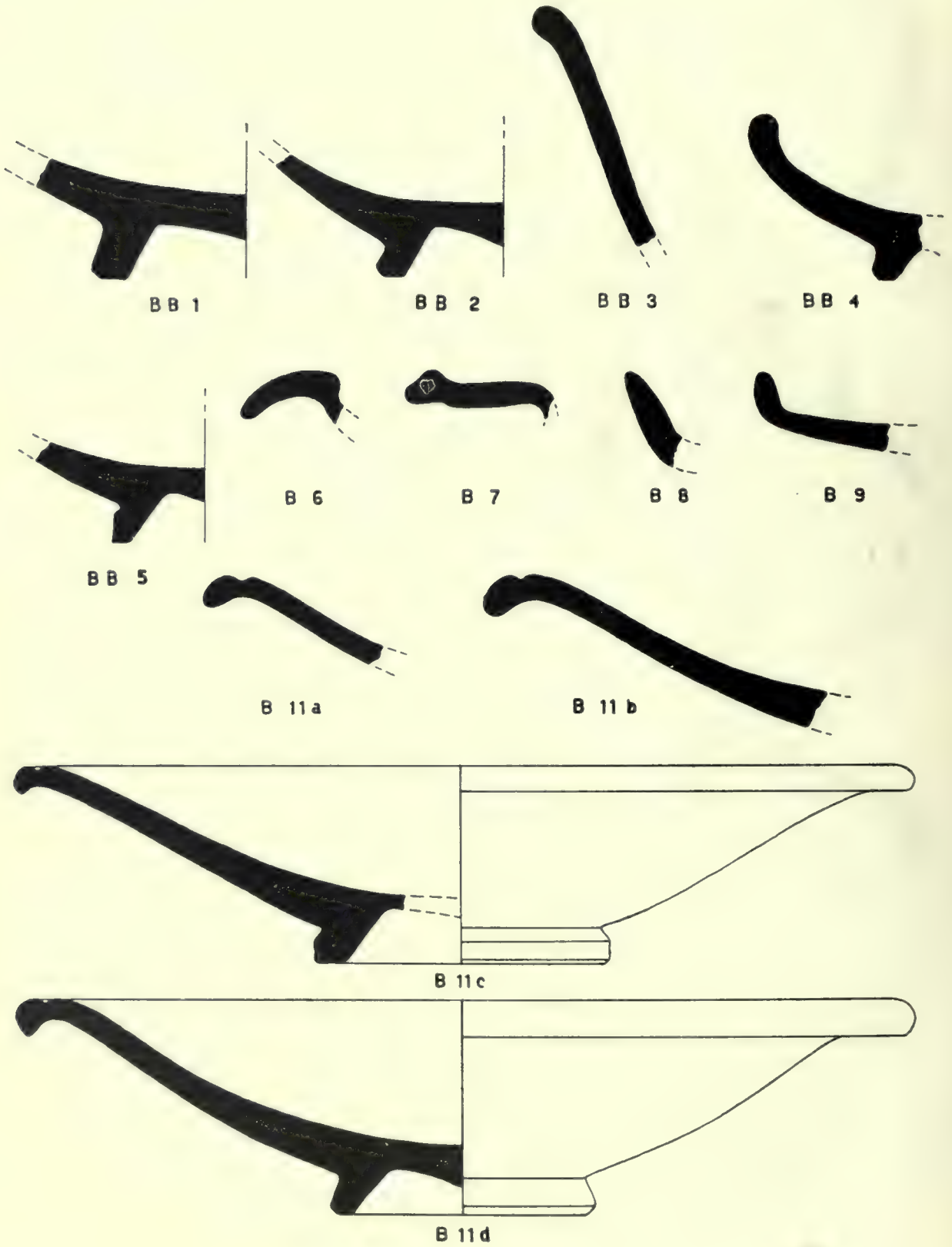


A 43



A 44

PLATE XXVI



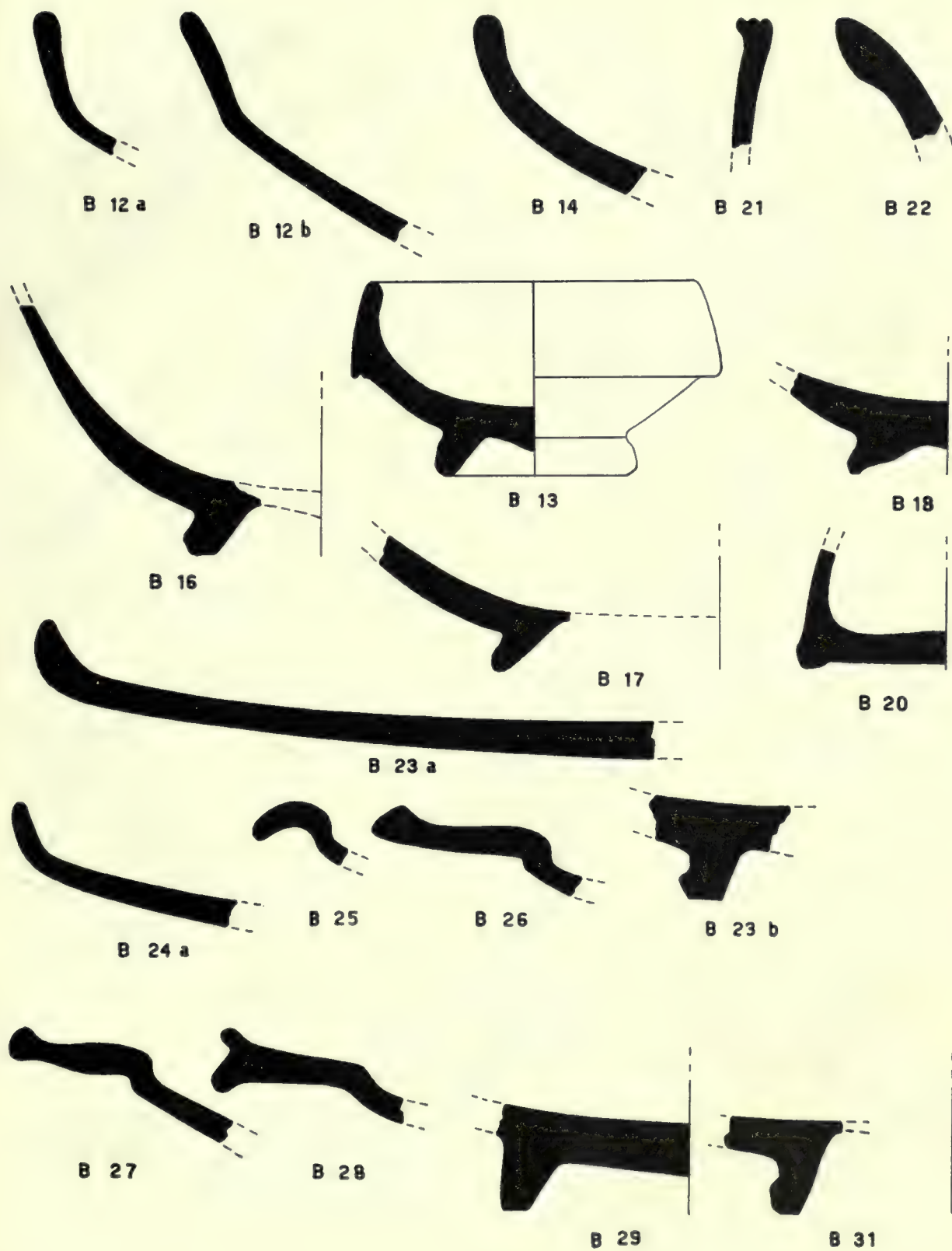
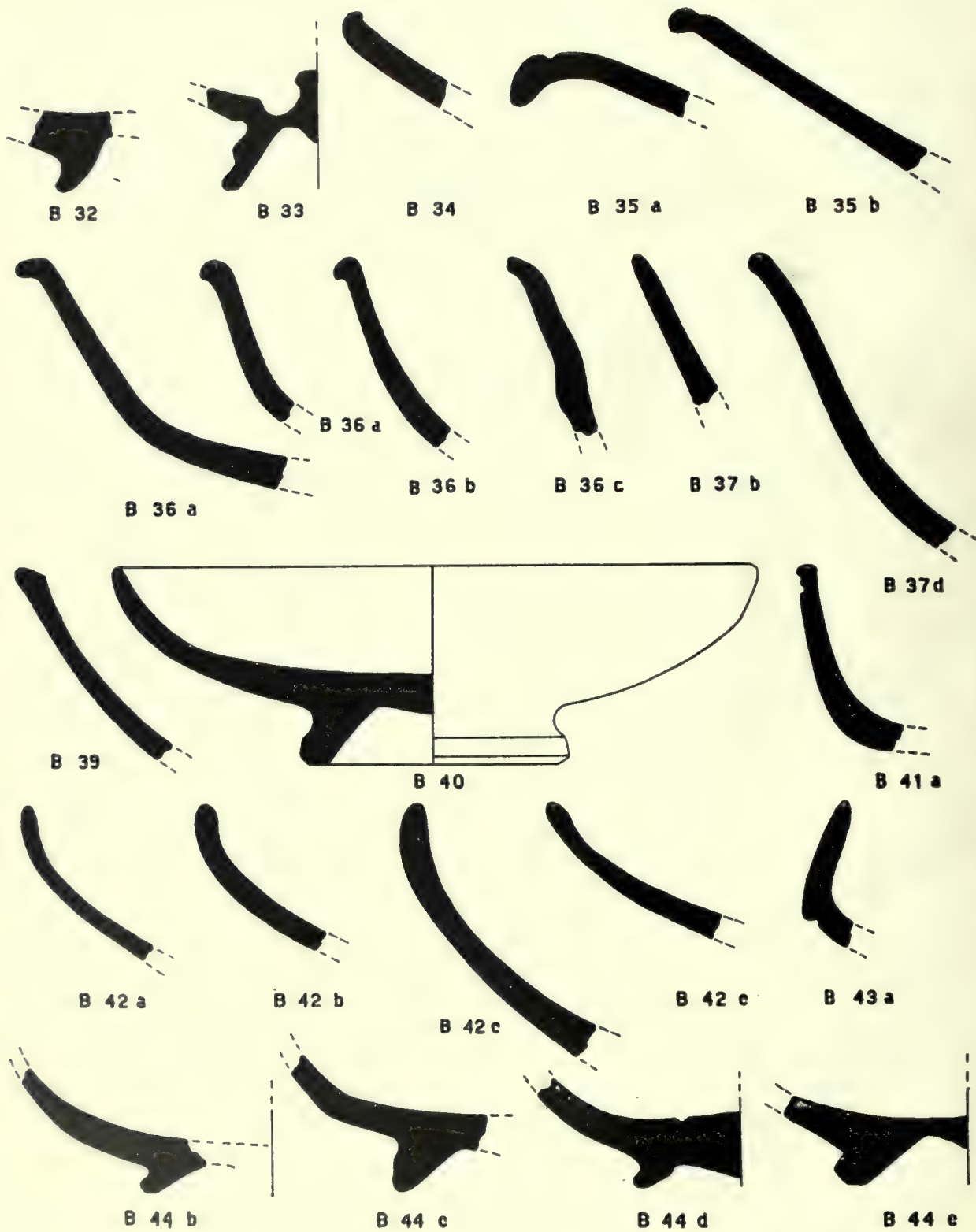


PLATE XXVIII



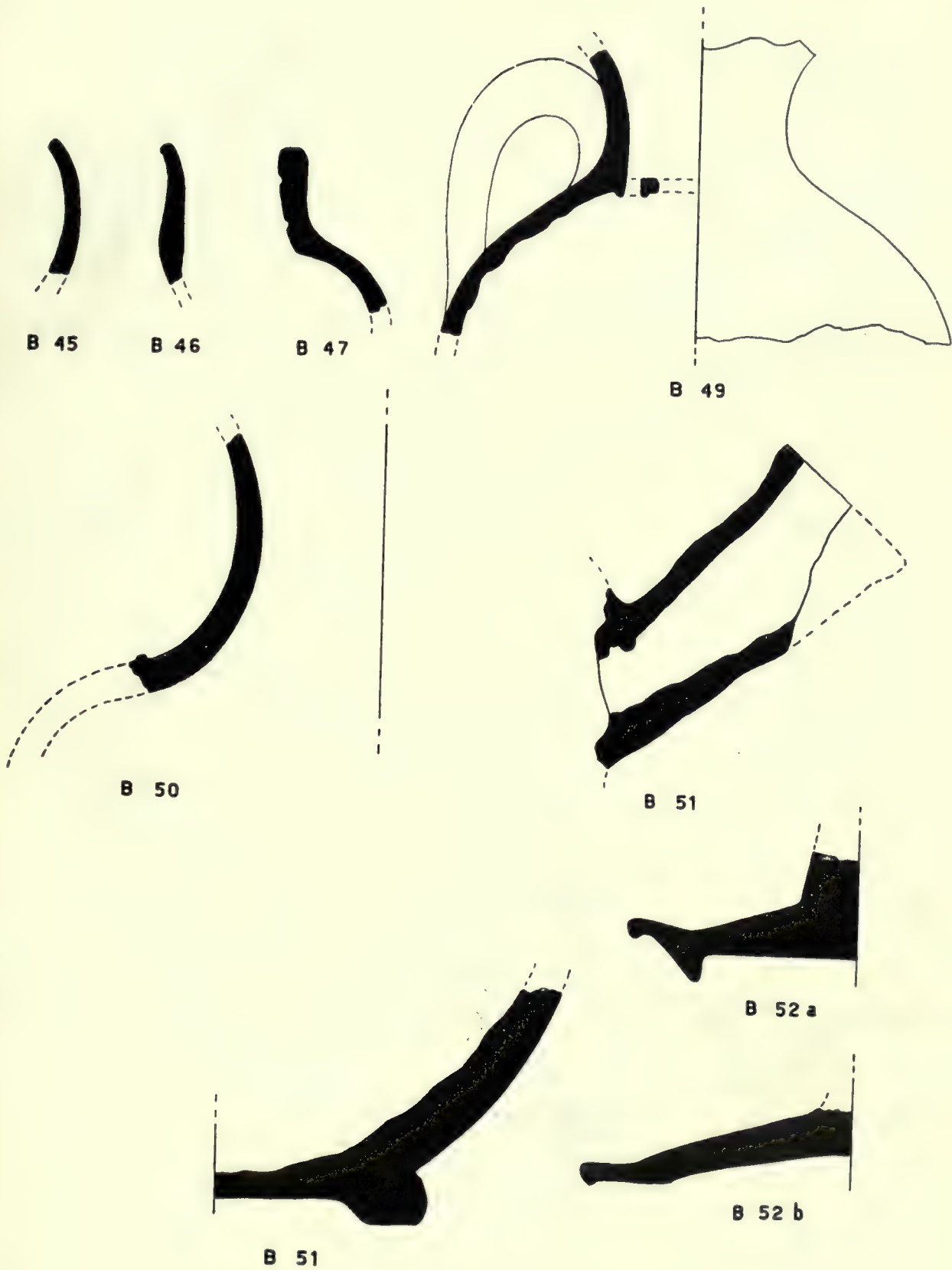
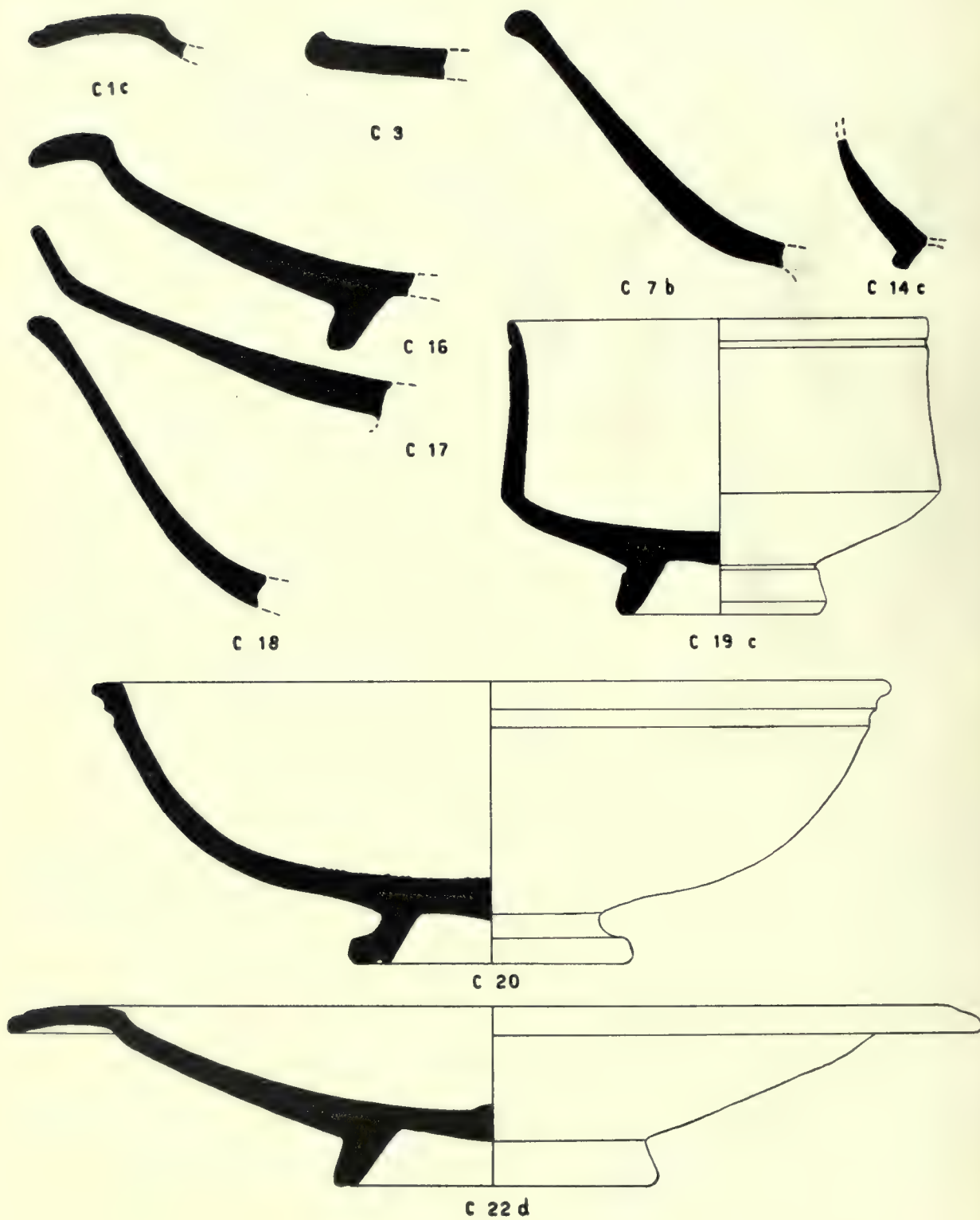


PLATE XXX



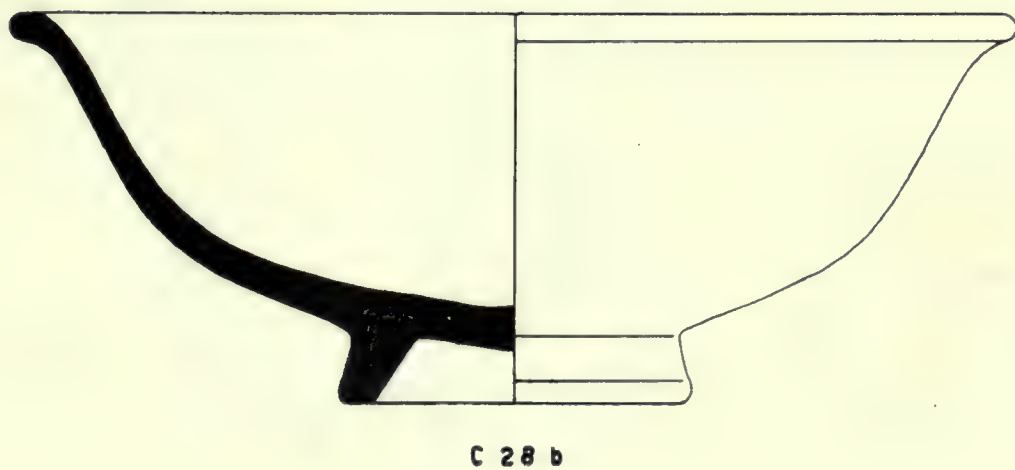
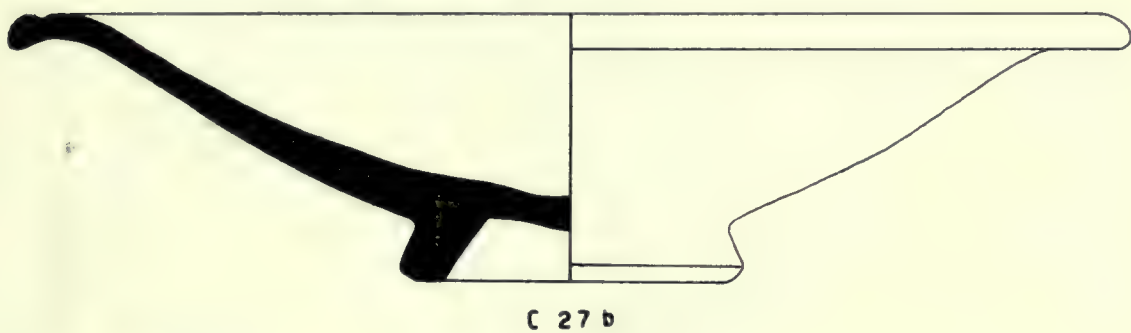
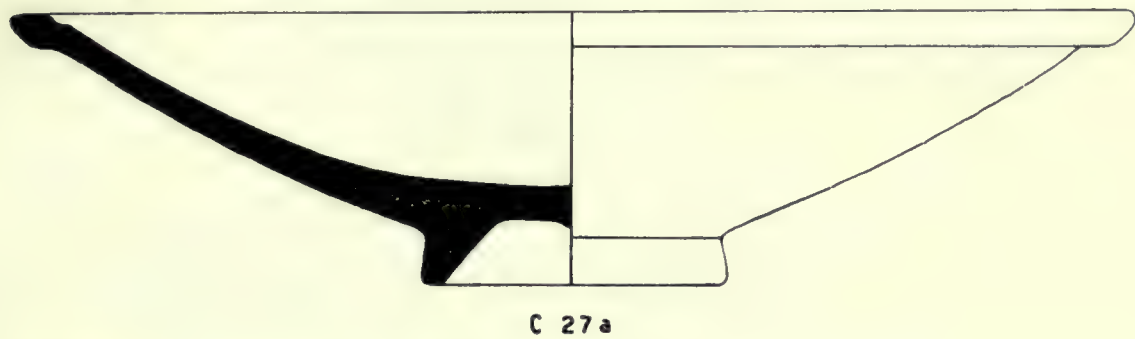
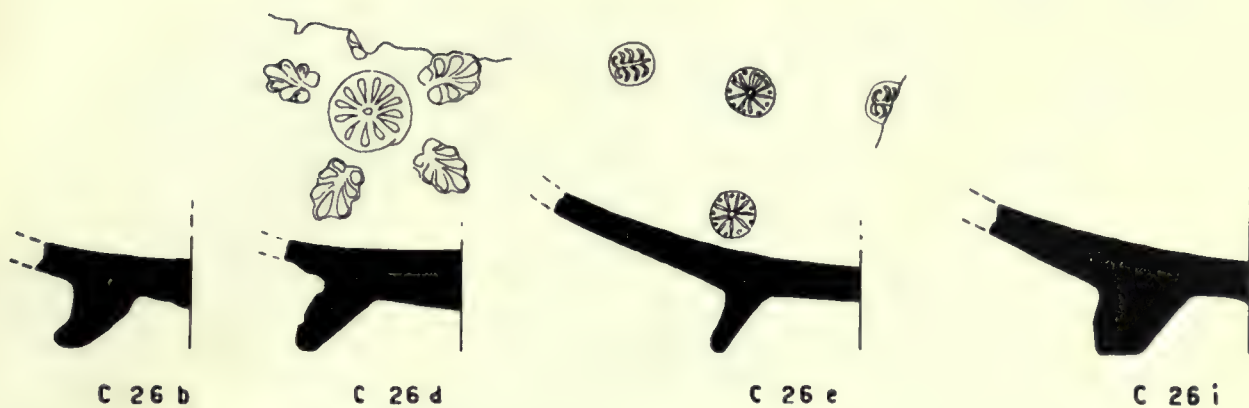
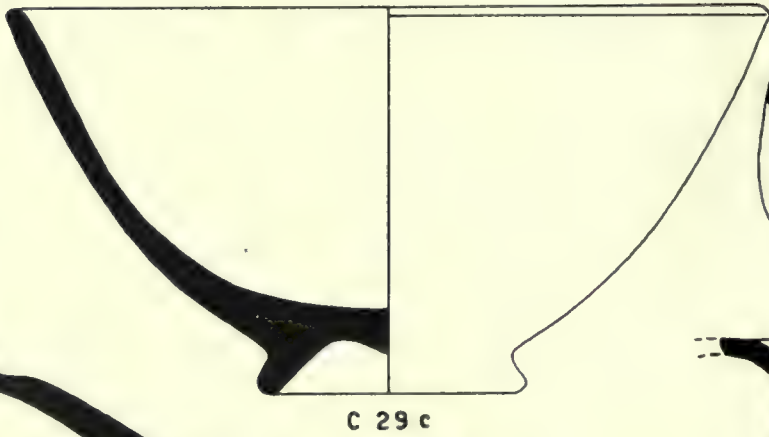
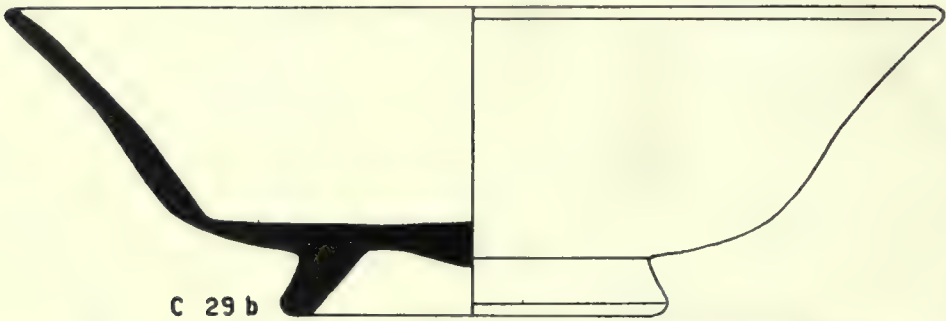
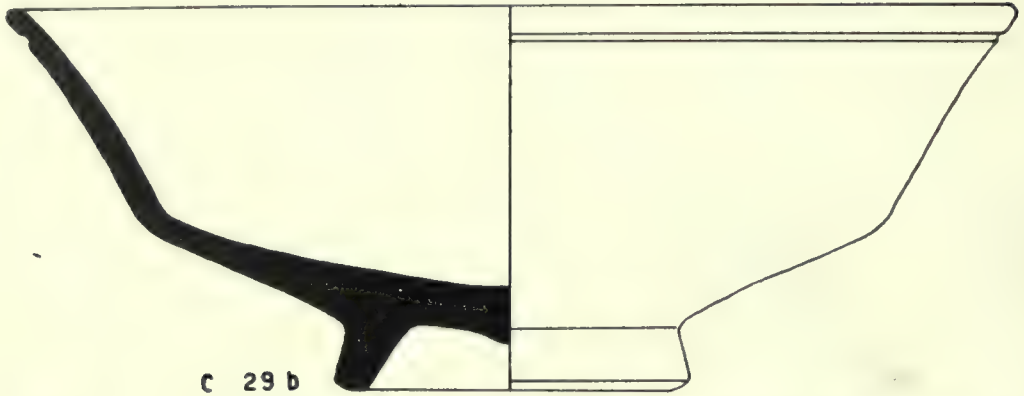


PLATE XXXII



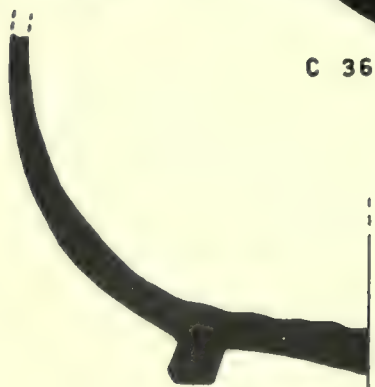
C 36



C 38



C 42



C 41

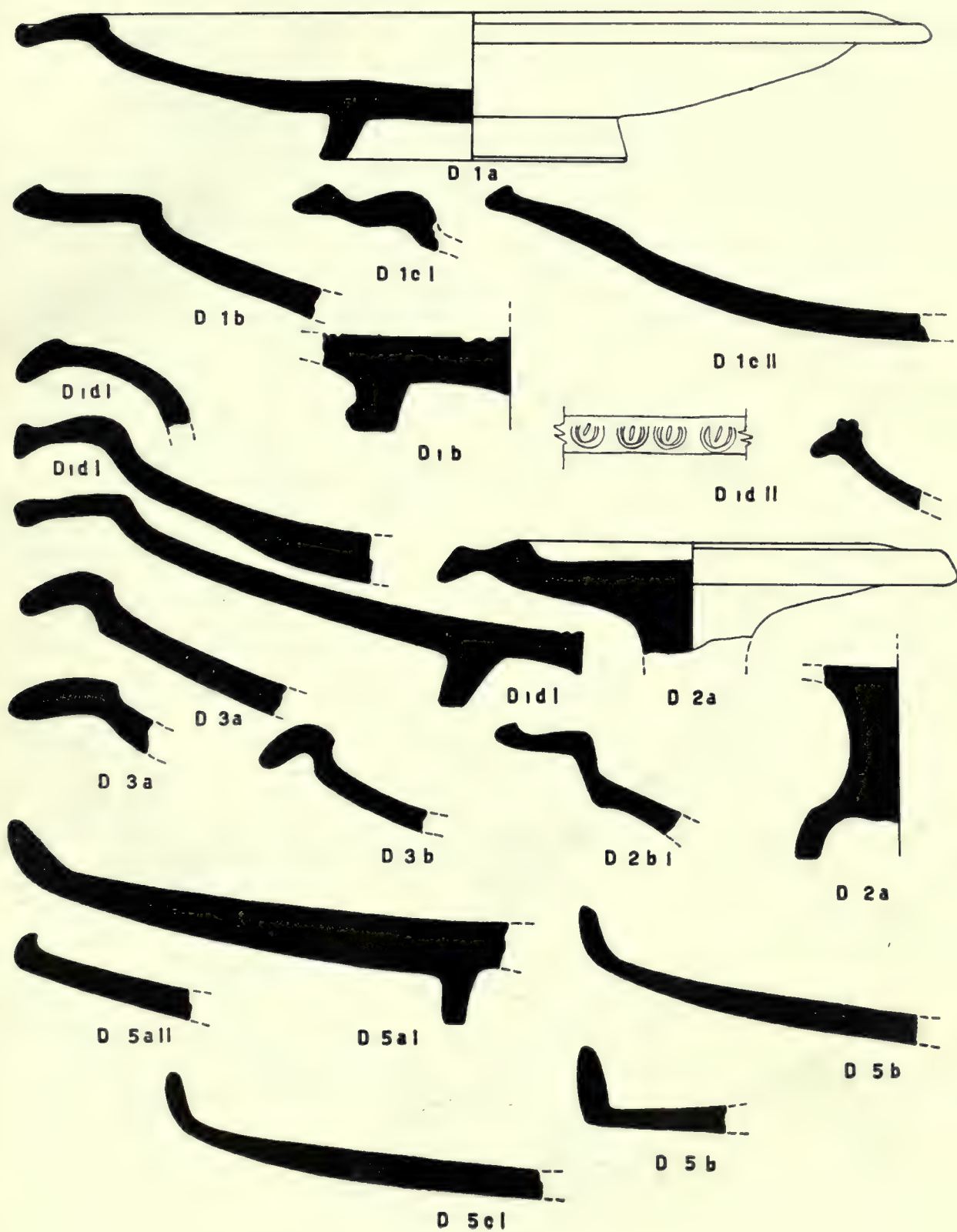
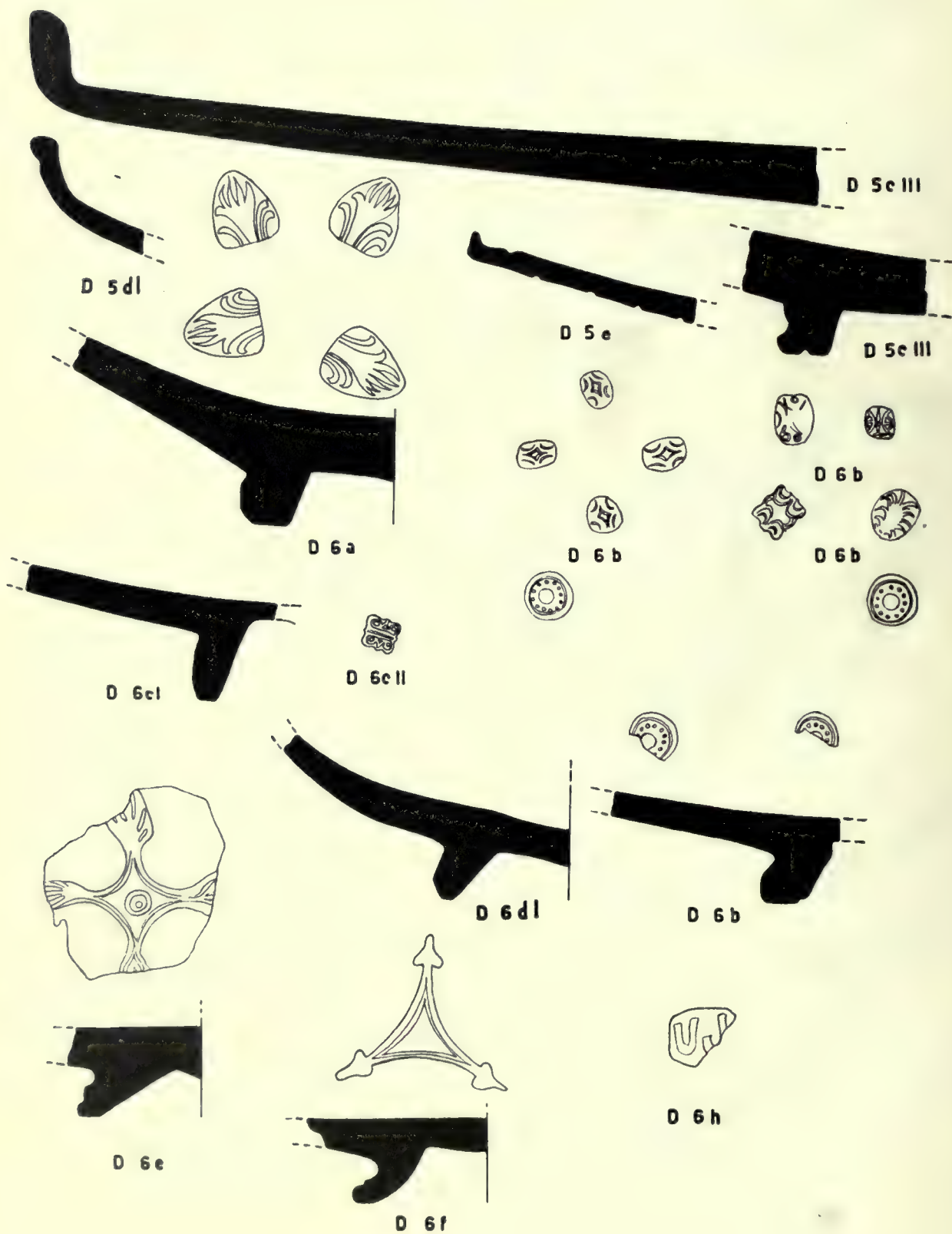


PLATE XXXIV



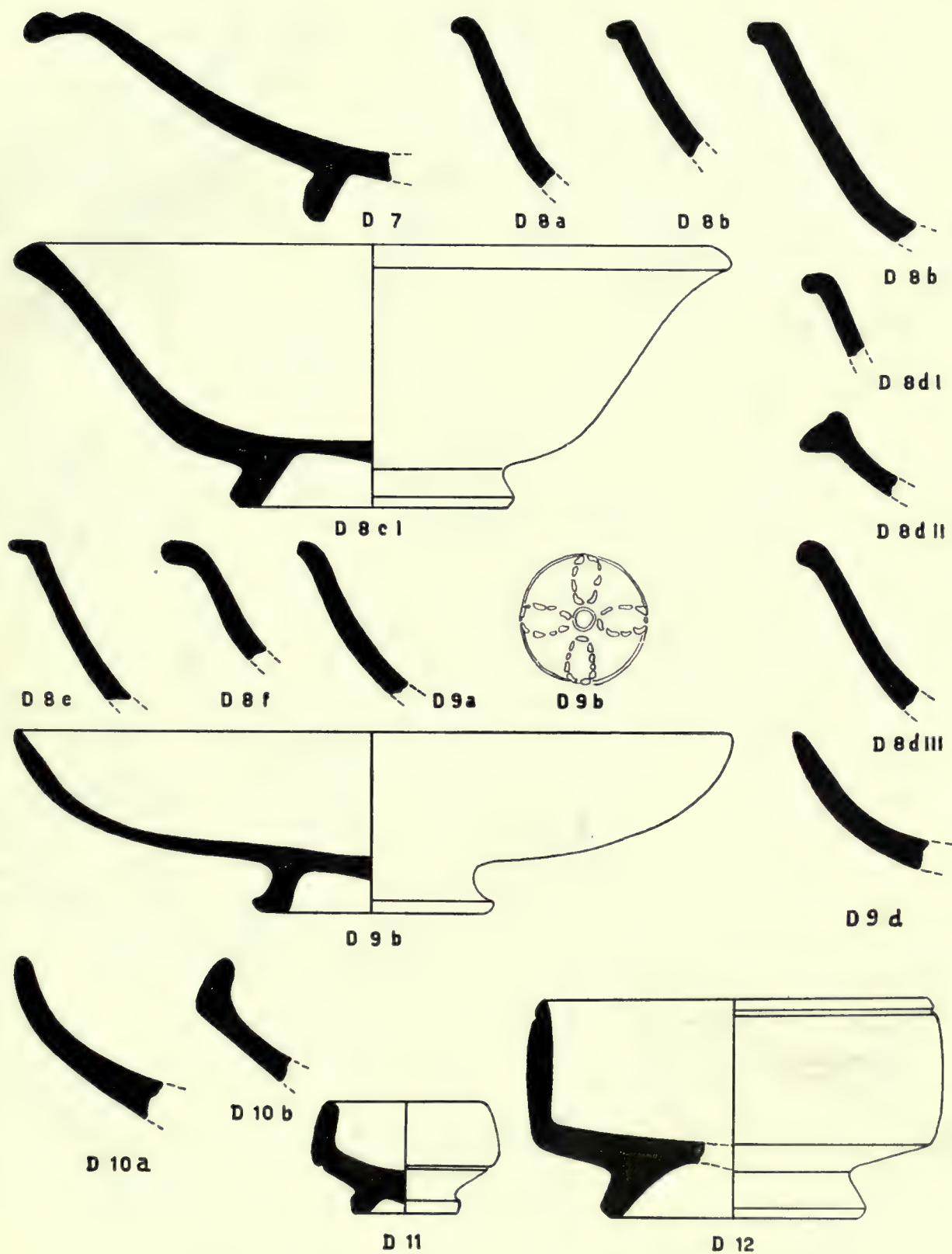
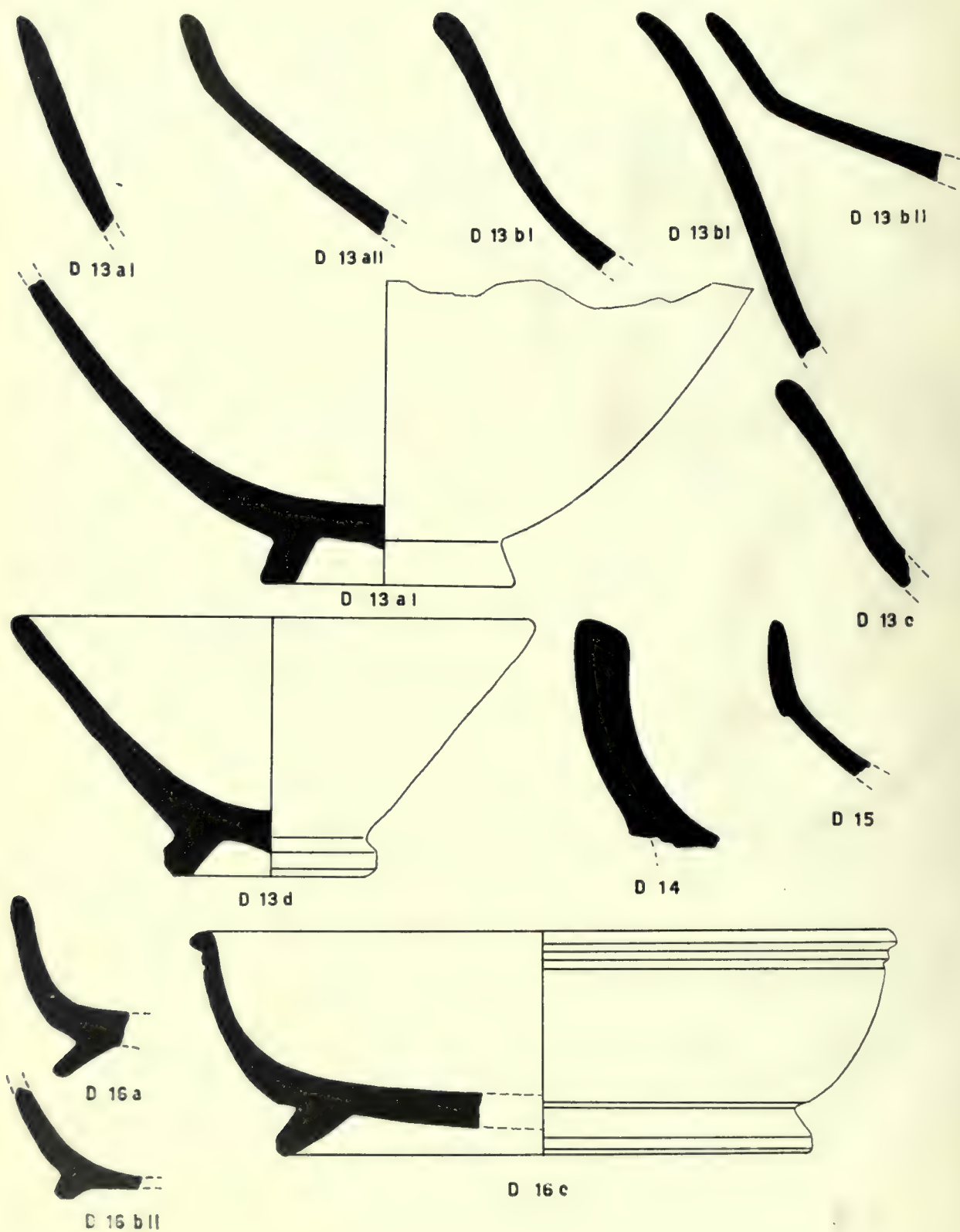
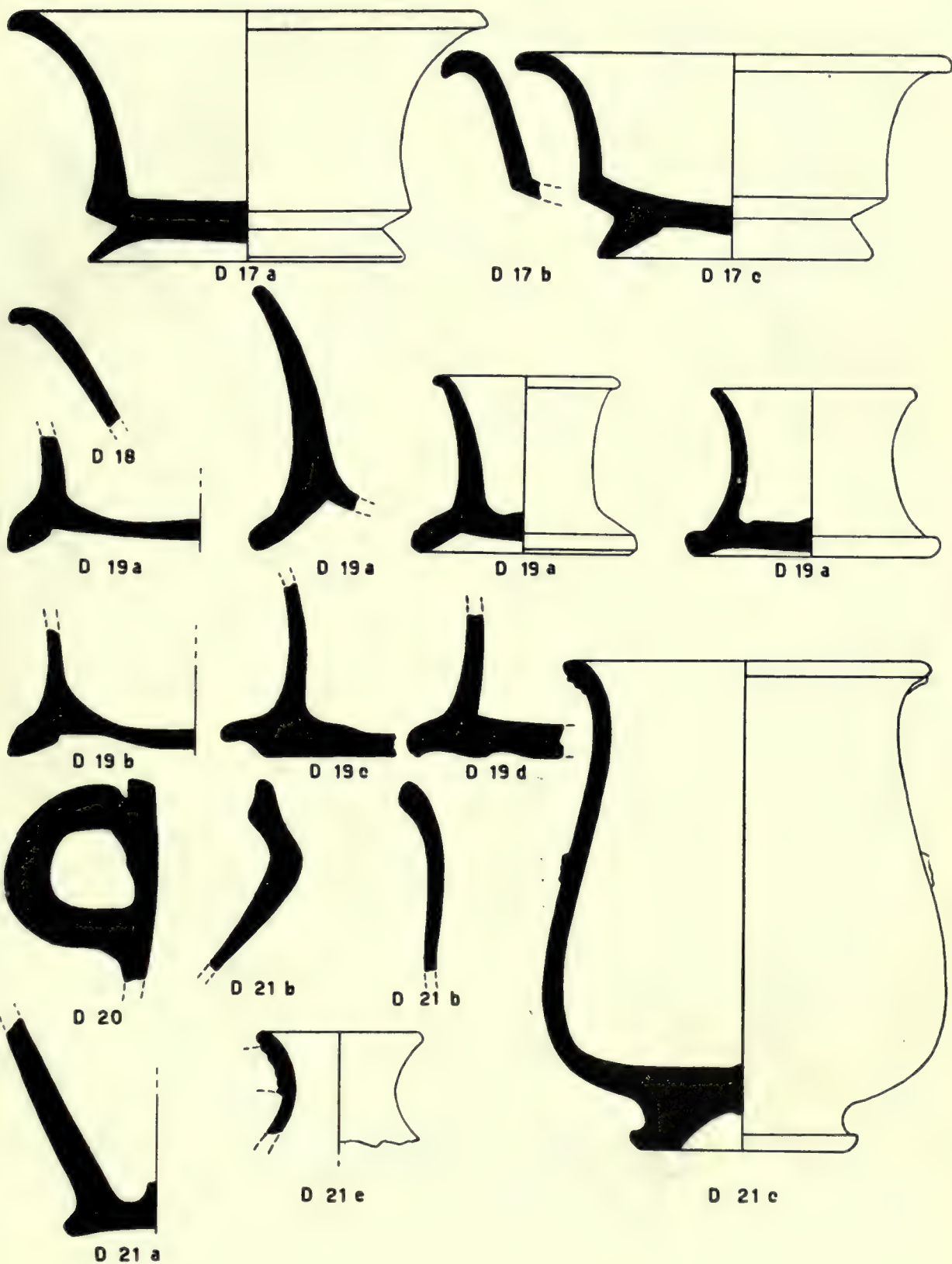
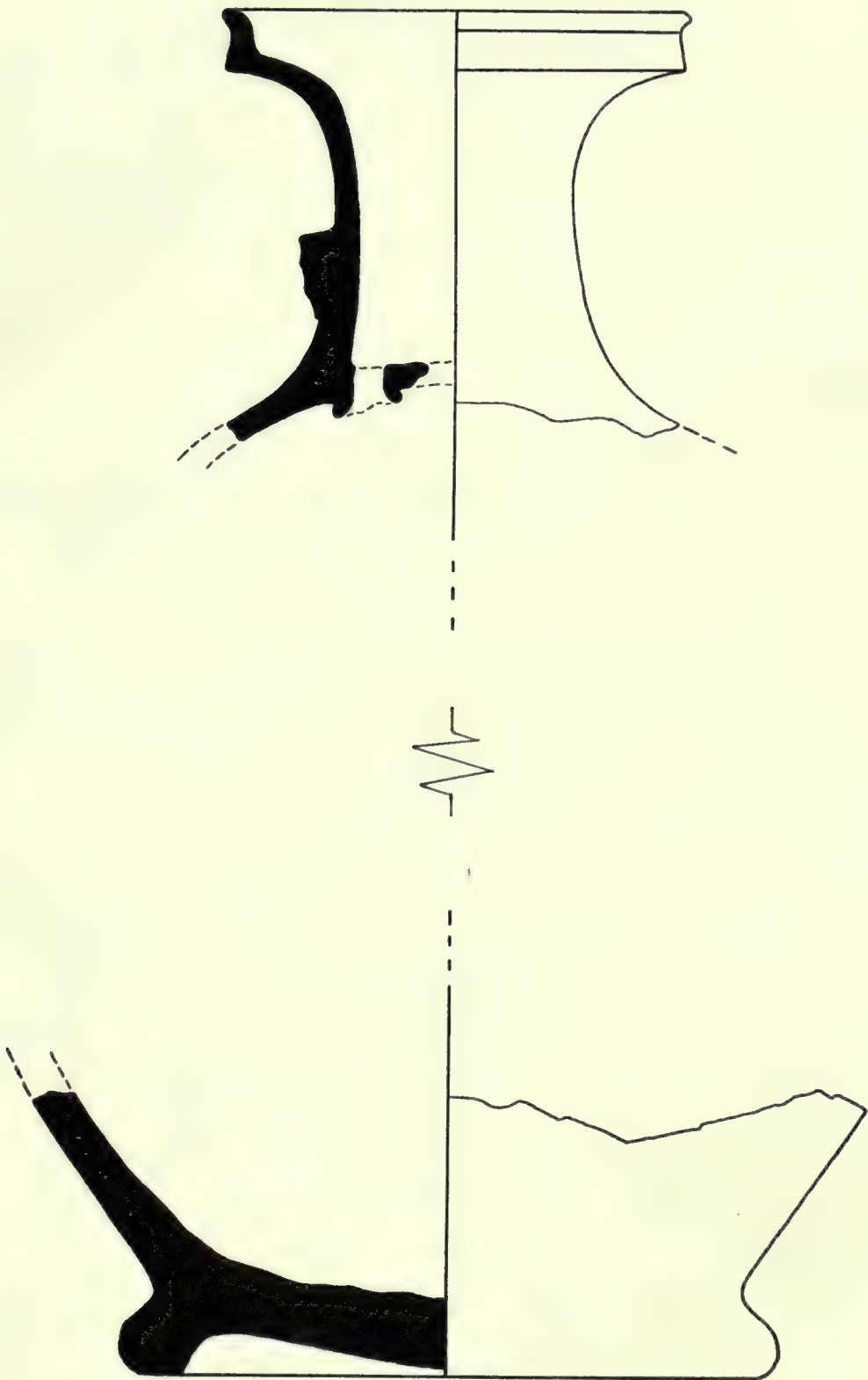


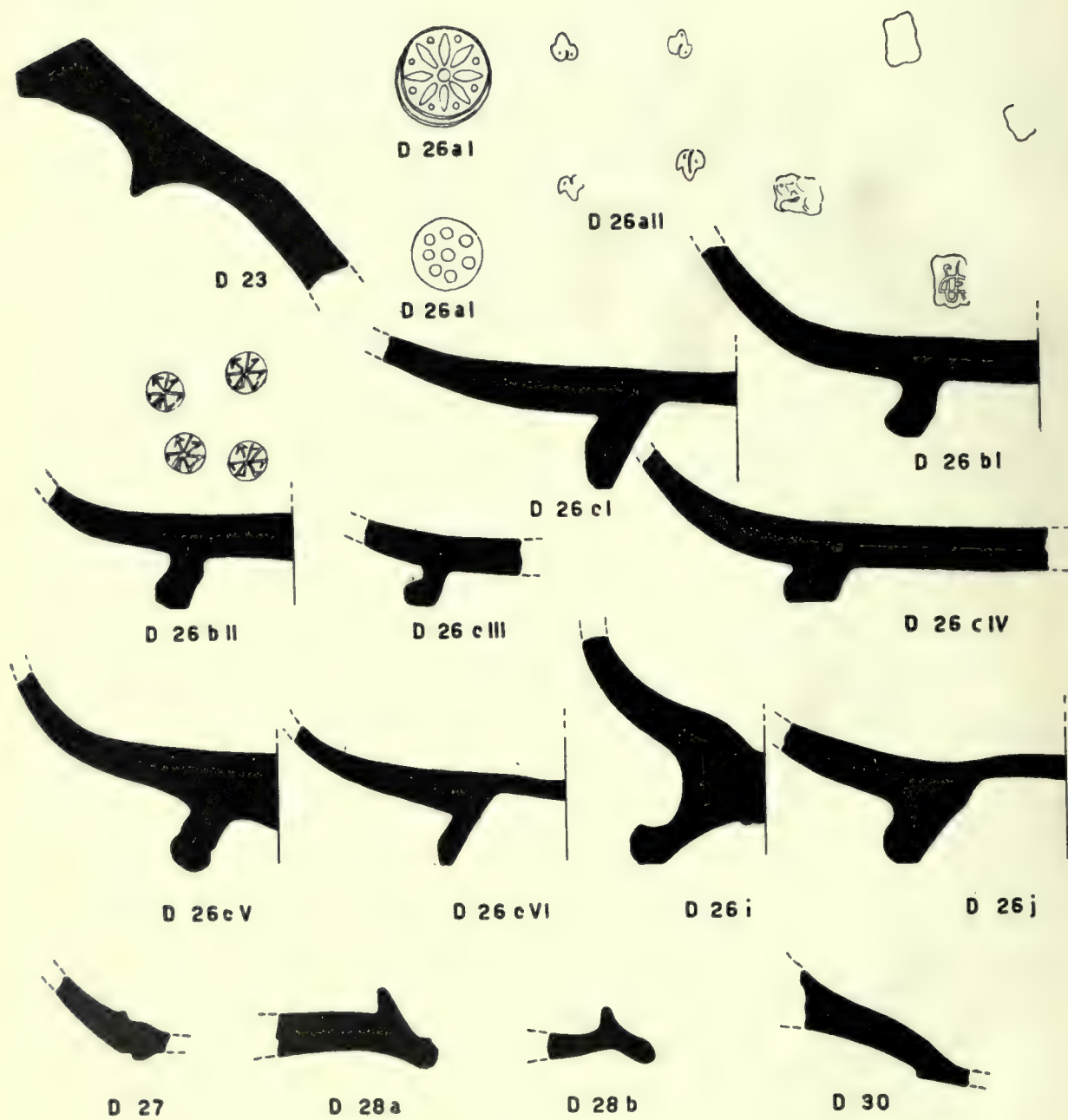
PLATE XXXVI











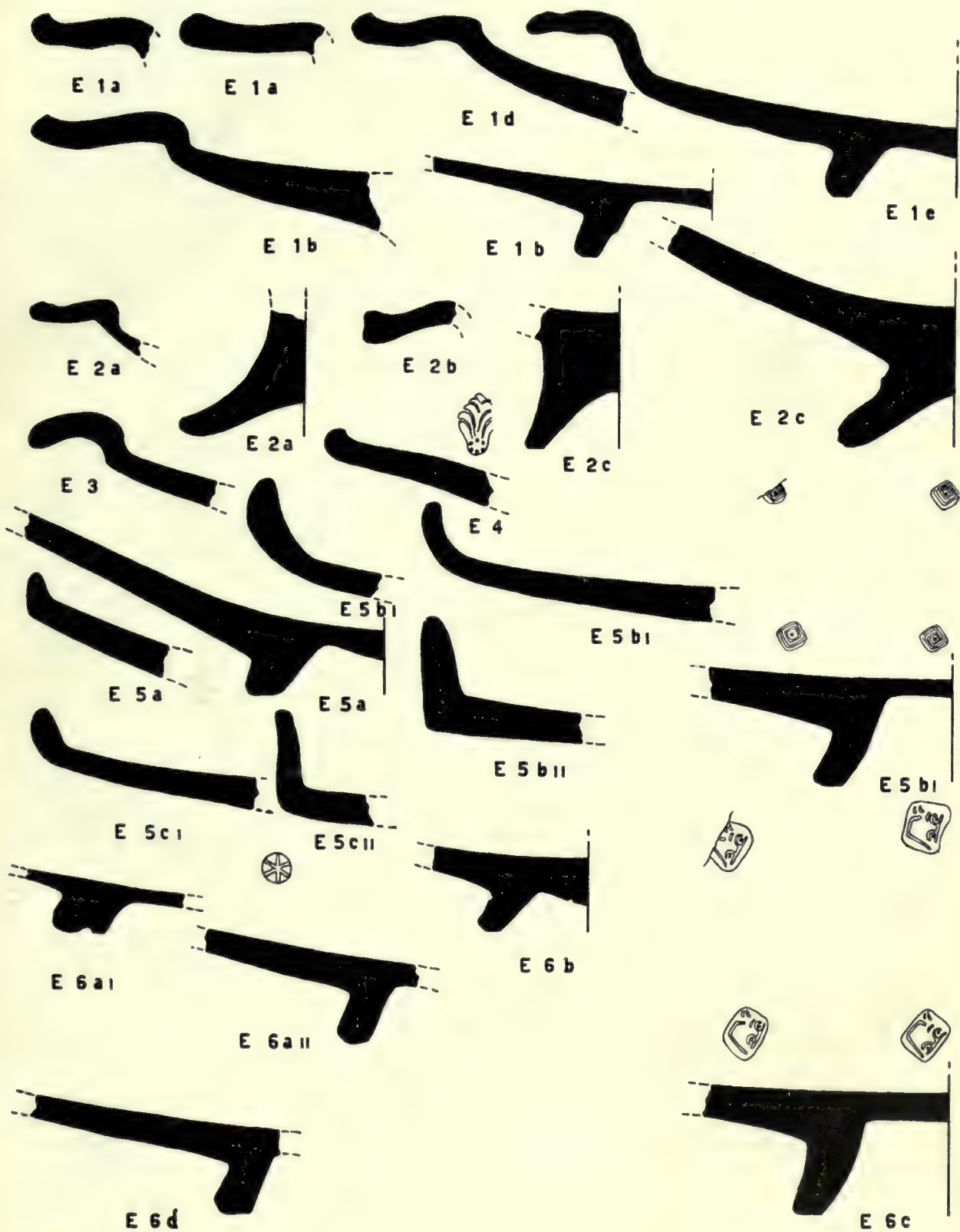
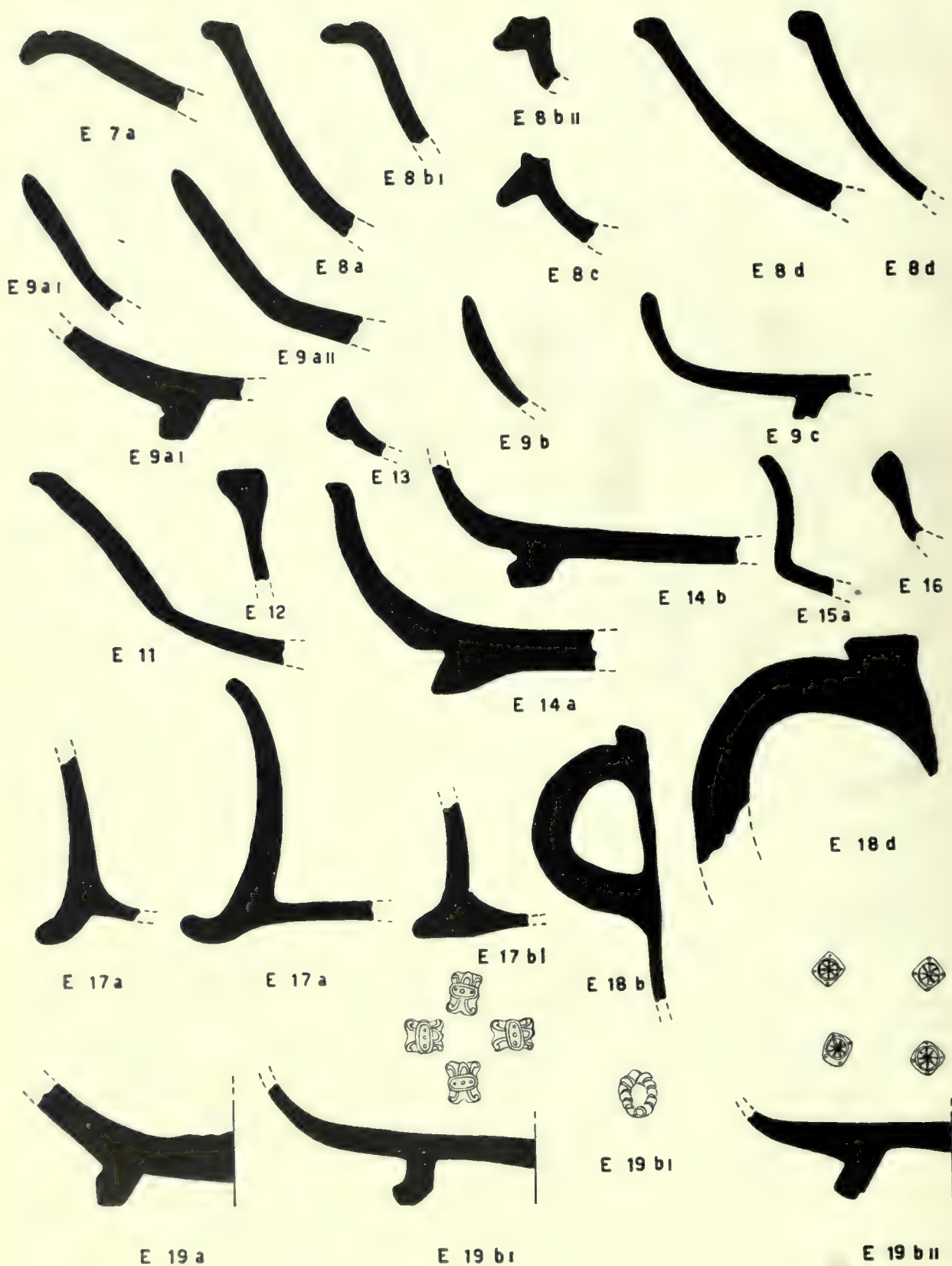


PLATE XLII





E 19 c



E 19 d



E 19 e



E 19 g



E 19 h



E 21 a



E 19 f

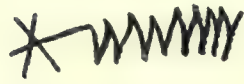
PLATE XLIV

H

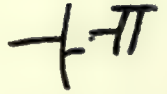
A 21c



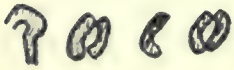
A 22



A 27



A 29a



A 38



A 39



B 15

N

C 19c

N

C 26 f



C 26 g



C 27 b



D 7

-(F)

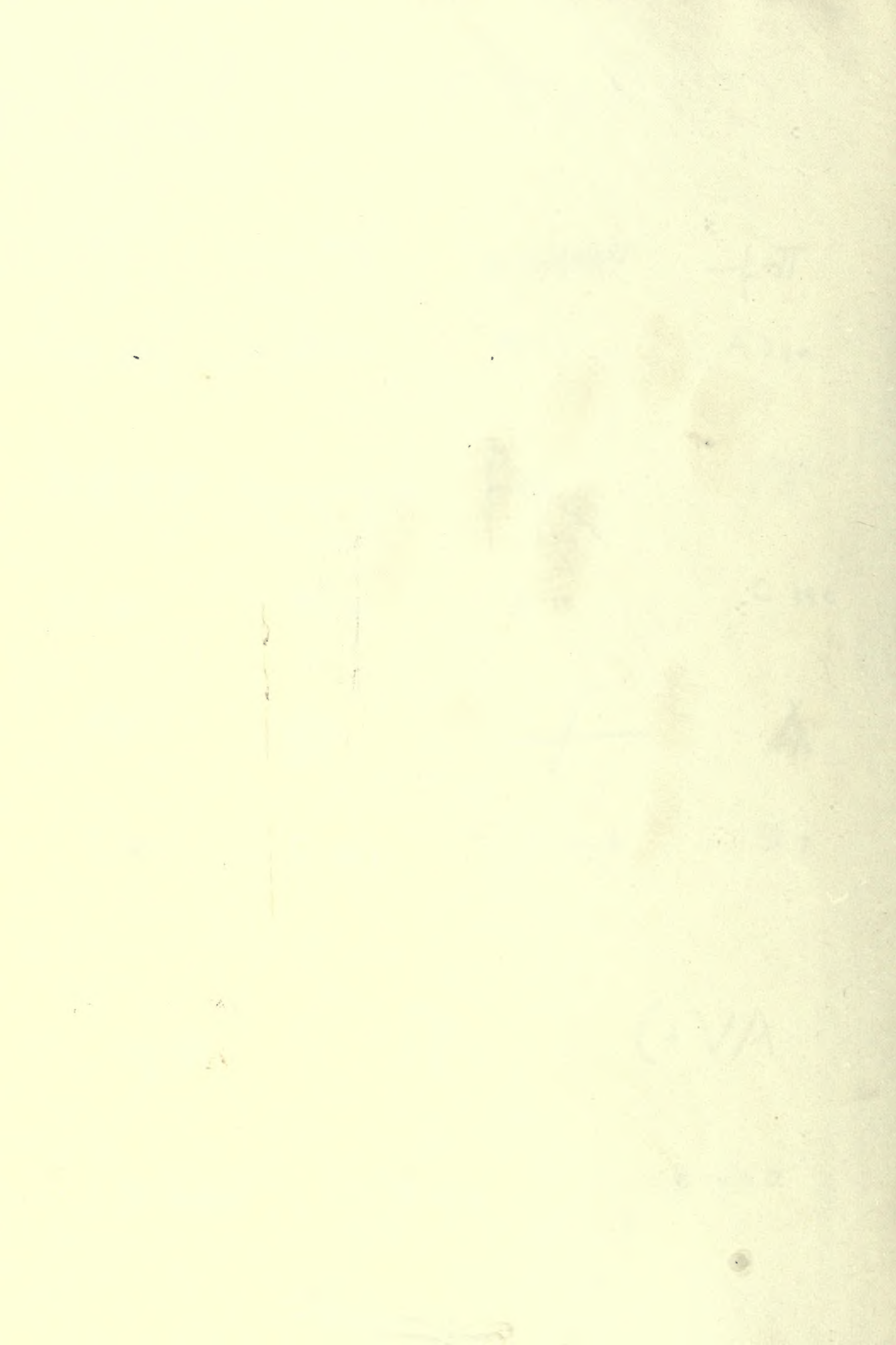
D 16 b I

R

D 16 c

(-VA

E 9a II



DG
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v.25

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